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A CRITICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF

S^r ROBERT WALPOLE, K

Now EARL of ORFORD.

Collected chiefly from the Debates in Parliament,
and the Political Writings on both Sides ;

And Digested under the following Heads :

First, with regard to Domestic Affairs,

The Bank Contract, and other Measures in consequence of the <i>South-Sea</i> Project.	Undue Influence in Elections and on the Elected, with other suspected Branches of Corruption.
Grants to the Civil List, Votes of Credit, and annual Provisions for the current Service.	Discouragement of Commerce, Industry, Arts, Capacity, and Literature.
The Excise and other Schemes reputed destructive of the People's Liberty, and subversive of the Constitution.	Vast Expenses Incur'd, without any visible Advantage to Great-Britain.

Secondly, with regard to Foreign Affairs,

Negotiations and Treaties with foreign Nations, exclusive of those with <i>Spain</i> that regard the present Quarrel.	Transactions between <i>Spain</i> and us, from the first Treaty of <i>Vienne</i> to the last Convention. Conduct of the War.
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And Thirdly, as consequential of both,

The History of the Opposition within Doors and without.	The Secession ; the Motion ; the Defeat, and Resignation.
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To the Whole are prefix'd,

Some PARTICULARS of Mr. WALPOLE's PUBLIC LIFE, before the Year 1721.

By a Gentleman of the MIDDLE-TEMPLE.

L O N D O N :

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PH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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BRITANNICVM**

P R E F A C E.

HOW much soever, in all Countries, may be thought due to the Persons of Kings, a sacred Reverence for the Persons of Ministers has never, that I know of, been professedly taught in any. Vanity indeed, in those Sons of Fortune, may sometimes expect the nauseous Sacrifice, which Flattery, in absolute Monarchies, is always ready enough to bestow. But if Britons, who boast a Right, superior to all other Nations, of examining the Actions of their Governours, should lavish their Incense on mere Power, however acquired or employ'd, we may venture to pronounce it a sinister Omen to British Liberty.

For if we hold, that the King can do no wrong, and at the same Time are forced to allow, that much Wrong has been done in his

P R E F A C E.

Name; does not this imply, that his Ministers are accountable for all Transactions under their Direction? Which at some Periods may include all the public Business of the Nation in the Account of one Man, who shall take upon him to direct or influence all the other Servants of the Crown. And ought this Man to be sooth'd in his ill-gotten, ill-used Authority? Ought not his Actions to be strictly attended to while he is in Office? Ought they not to be severely inquired into when he retires, or is driven from it?

This short Introduction will inform the Reader, that it is not a Panegyric I here publish: But I must tell him farther, that neither is it an Inveective, which might be equally partial, and remote from Truth. What I have attempted is an History; not of Sir Robert Walpole's Life, but of his Administration; not a dry Narration of Facts, but an Enquiry, as I proceed, into the Causes, Motives, Views, and Tendency of them, which makes me call it a Critical History. If the dark Side of Things most frequently appears,
it

PREFACE.

it is not my Fault, but must be ascribed to one sole Reason, That a very small Part of this whole Orb is illuminated.

Every intelligent Person will see, that the Materials to be made use of, in such a Work as this, could be no other than what I have mention'd in my Title, the Debates in Parliament, and the political Writings on both Sides. In the immediate Use of the first I have been the more sparing, because the Sense of them is for the most Part echo'd forth again in Pamphlets: And so careful to avoid Misrepresentation have I been in the Use of the latter, as generally, except when Abridgment was necessary, to keep to the very Words of my Authorities.

It will doubtless be taken Notice, that on some Heads of Accusation I seem to have quoted one Side only, that of the Accusers: But when this is the Case, I must avow the true Reason; which was, that I met with nothing of any Weight on the other. Upon the Bank Contract, where an absolute Fact
was

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was affirmed on one Side, and denied on the other; and upon the Excise Scheme, where the Benefits and Disadvantages of such a peculiar Way of collecting the Revenue was so fair a Subject of Argument, it was easy to oppose Paragraph against Paragraph: But upon Questions relating to the Finances at home, or Negotiations and Hostilities abroad, where the Event, upon Comparison, will always justify or condemn the Measure, it is impossible to dispute any longer than till that Event is known and established.

My own Reflections will not, I hope, be thought to have carry'd me too far on any Occasion: They always appear'd just to me, and naturally arising from the Subject. But, as they are neither numerous nor long, if they should at any Time be found not altogether pertinent, the Fault will be the more excusable.

Happy would it be for any Country, especially a free one (such as we call ours) if no Servant of the Crown had Authority beyond the proper Bounds of his own Office. But even
if

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if we could suppose a Series of great Monarchs, equally capable and vigilant with our present most gracious Sovereign, it would hardly be possible but that superior Abilities, longer Experience, fairer Pretensions, a Mastery in Expedients, a larger Interest in Family or Friends, the personal Affection of his Prince; it is hardly possible, I say, but that one or more of these would add to the Weight of some particular Officer, and lift him into that mighty Individual, a Prime Minister. Since we must not expect, therefore, to remain long without some such Weight upon our Shoulders, let us study how to make it sit as easy, and shift it as often, as we can possibly.

THE

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CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF

Sir Robert Walpole, &c.

SECTION I.

*Some Particulars of Mr. Walpole's Public
Life, before the Year 1721.*

ON the fourth of *April*, 1721, *Robert Walpole, Esq;* was appointed first Lord of the *Treasury*, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the *Exchequer*. He continued in these high Places till the Beginning of *February*, 1741-2, when he resign'd them upon losing the Majority in the House of Commons. The Time between these Dates, including a Space of near 21 Years, is what we distinguish by the Name of *his Administration*. Of this, as it has been the Subject of more political Controversy than perhaps any other Period of *English History*, I propose to take an impartial Survey: But first it may be necessary

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to review his publick Life before that Time, that we may trace out the Steps by which he arose to such great Power and Influence, almost beyond what any *British* Subject had till then enjoyed.

It is the Interest of every Prince, who reigns in consequence of the Révolution, to support and encourage the Principles by which it was effected. Once indeed, for a short Time, the contrary Doctrine prevail'd at Court, how justly I shall not pretend to say; but even in the same Reign, while *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* had the Management of Affairs, only such were admitted to them as were known Friends to the Act of Succession. For this Mr. *Walpole*, from his first coming into the House of Commons, in 1700, had been a great Stickler, and was besides a very popular Speaker. No Wonder therefore that in 1705 he was nominated, among others, of the Council to his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of *England*; that in 1707 he was appointed Secretary at War, and in 1709 Treasurer of the Navy; and that, in the next Year, upon the Impeachment of
Dr.

Dr. Sacheverell, he was chosen one of the Managers of the House of Commons, to make good the Articles against him.

That upon the Change of the Ministry, soon after this last Event, he was removed from all his Places, is nothing more strange than that he should obtain them before: But the Disgrace he suffered in the House, for Corruption in the Execution of his Office, is a Fact that should a little more narrowly be inquired into. Perhaps we may reflect, from the Censure then pass'd on him for a Crime not clearly proved, and the Impunity that has since follow'd a Detection of most flagrant Instances of Mal-Administration, that we cannot always form Ideas of Facts or Characters from the Resolutions of a House of Commons.

On the 21st of *December*, 1711, a Report was made by the Commissioners of the House of Commons for *taking, examining, and stating the public Accounts*; in which, among other Charges against the *Marlborough* Ministry, was the following against *Robert Walpole, Esq;* late Secretary at War.

That in certain Forage Contracts, relating to the Troops in *North-Britain*, her Majesty, by the Rates allow'd in the said Contracts by Mr. *Walpole*, had been put to an extraordinary Expence above the Pay of the Soldiers; That Inquiry had been made, Whether in this Part of the Service sufficient Care had been taken, to procure the most advantageous Terms for the Public; That in two Contracts, made in the Years 1709 and 1710, Mr. *Walpole* had taken two Notes of Hand, one for five hundred Guineas, and the other for five hundred Pounds, the first of which had been paid, and a Receipt given in Mr. *Walpole's* Name, and about 400 Pounds was paid off the other. They then mention several other Sums, and conclude thus:

“ Your Commissioners cannot exactly
 “ state the Losses the Public has sustain'd
 “ by these Contracts; but find, that if the
 “ Forage had been furnish'd in the Years
 “ 1709 and 1710 at the Rates settled by
 “ the Contracts for the present Year, there
 “ had been saved to the Government more
 “ than

" than 9500*l.* which is near a fourth Part
 " of the whole Charge.

" They do not apprehend, that this
 " Difference has arisen altogether from the
 " Scarcity of Forage in the two last Years :
 " For Captain *William Preston*, of Colonel
 " *Ker's* Regiment, has declared before
 " them on Oath, that he had agreed with
 " the Contractors to furnish great Forage
 " for his own Troop, in those Years, at
 " Two-pence Half-penny an Horse for 24
 " Hours, (which cost the Government
 " Three-pence Half-penny) with an Ad-
 " dition only of 7 Pounds each Year, for
 " providing extraordinary Forage for the
 " Officers Horses belonging to that Troop :
 " And that the Contractors assured him,
 " they had made the same Agreement with
 " other Officers.

" How far these Practices have been in-
 " jurious to the Public, is humbly submit-
 " ed to the Consideration of the House."

This Report being read to the House,
 with the Depositions upon which it was
 founded, and Mr. *Montgomery*, who had

paid the Money, being re-examin'd, the House came to these Resolutions :

“ That *Robert Walpole*, Esq; a Member
 “ of this House, in receiving the Sum of
 “ 500 Guineas, and in taking a Note for
 “ 500 Pounds more, on Account of two
 “ Contracts, for Forage of her Majesty's
 “ Troops quarter'd in *North-Britain*, made
 “ by him when Secretary at War, pursuant to a Power granted to him by the
 “ late Lord Treasurer, is guilty of a high
 “ Breach of Trust and notorious Corruption.

“ That the said *Robert Walpole*, Esq; be
 “ for the said Offence committed Prisoner
 “ to the *Tower of London*, during the
 “ Pleasure of this House; and that Mr.
 “ Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly.

“ That for the said Offence he be also
 “ expell'd the House.”

According to these Resolutions, Mr. *Walpole* surrender'd himself the next Morning Prisoner to the *Tower* : And a very warm Speech, that had been made against him in the House during the Debate, was in a Day or two after made public. In

short,

short, the Tide ran entirely against him, and the Friends of the new Ministry triumph'd.

Mr. *Robert Mann*, Agent to Mr. *Walpole*, who had received the Money for the first Note, and given Mr. *Walpole's* Receipt, and in whose Hands the second Note was deposited, refusing to give a Copy of the said Note to the Commissioners, or to be farther examin'd, the House order'd him into Custody of a Serjeant at Arms, for Contempt. And the Borough of *King's-Lynn* proceeding to re-elect Mr. *Walpole* their Representative, it was resolv'd by the House, That he was incapable to serve in that Parliament, and that the Election was void. Accordingly a new Writ was issued for that Town, the Electors of which persisted in their Choice, and refused to make any other Return.

Having given this Narrative of an Affair, which hath since been frequently talk'd of and writ on, I shall inquire a little into the Merits of it, and see how far this Gentleman's Character, on the present Occasion,

has been justly branded on the one Side, or vindicated on the other.

That five hundred Guineas had been paid in Mr. *Walpole's* Name, and that a Note was then subsisting in that Name, was proved by Mr. *John Montgomery*: But Mr. *Munn*, who received the Money, denied that it was for Mr. *Walpole's* Use, and made it the Produce of his own Share in the Profits of the Contracts, which Mr. *Walpole* had stipulated for him, with Sir *Samuel Macdellan* and Mr. *John Campbell*. The Question therefore is, How the two Charges, of *Breach of Trust* and *Notorious Corruption*, are supported or demolished by this Evidence?

As to the *Breach of Trust*, it was argued, that he could not be guilty of it, because he made the first Contract in Conjunction with Lieutenant-General *Erle*, and Mr. *Howe* Pay-master of the Forces, and only executed it afterwards alone, as Secretary of War. But it did not appear that either General *Erle* or Mr. *Howe* was privy to that Part of the Contract, by which a fifth Part of the Profits was to be paid to Mr. *Walpole's* Friend. So that, after all that can be said, there

there still lies a Suspicion of some Collusion between the Secretary and the Contractors, which was concealed from the other two Officers.

But if the Contract was made upon the lowest Terms, that in a great Measure removes this Suspicion; for it is not to be thought that 500 Guineas should be paid for a Bargain made only on equitable Conditions. Mr. *Walpole's* Friends affirm'd it was so, in Contradiction to the Report of the Committee; and that upon the Contract made afterwards, at a Penny less *per Diem* for each Horse, a Memorial was presented to the War-Office, setting forth, that the Country could not afford to bring it to the Quarters at that Price, nor to give good in Kind. -- But as this Part of the Charge was little insisted on, I proceed to the other, the *Notorious Corruption*.

Mr. *Montgomery* swears, that " he gave Mr. *Walpole* a Bill or Note, payable to himself or Order; and that he afterwards paid the Contents of the said Note, by Direction of Mr. *Campbell* and Colonel *Douglas*, his Partners in the Contract upon Sir *Samuel Maclellan's*

Maclellan's Death, to *Mr. Mann*, who deliver'd up the Note, with *Mr. Walpole's* Receipt on the Back of it."

In this lies the Accufation, which, at first, seems to be well grounded: But then, on the other Side, Colonel *Douglas*, a Member of the House, declares, that *Sir Samuel Maclellan* told him, upon his Death-bed, that " *Mr. Walpole*, in the first Contract, had reserved a fifth Part of the Profit to a Friend of his;" and upon hearing the Name of *Mr. Mann*, he " recollects that to be the Name that *Sir Samuel* mention'd, as the Gentleman recommended to be a Sharer in the Contract." *Mr. Mann* swears, that " as he received the Money at several Times, he gave Receipts in his own Name, which Receipts, at the Payment of the last Sum, were cancel'd, and a Discharge in full was written upon the Back of *Mr. Montgomery's* Note, over the Name of *Mr. Walpole*, which before was only a blank Endorsement." He adds, that " the Money received was for his own sole Use and Benefit, and that he did not pay the same, nor any Part of it, nor account for it, nor was

was under any Obligation or Agreement to pay or account for it, to any Person whatsoever."

If we add to this what Colonel Douglas farther declares, that " Sir *Samuel Maclellan* being dead, who alone negotiated the Affair, and he not remembering the Name of the Person who was to be a Sharer, judged it most proper to have the Money made payable to Mr. *Walpole* or Order, for the Use of his Friend;" and we have the Reasons for every Difficulty in Mr. *Montgomery's* Affidavit: We see that Mr. *Mann*, from the Beginning, was the Person concern'd in the Contract, and for whom the Share was reserved by Sir *Samuel Maclellan*; that Mr. *Walpole* endorsed the Note in Form only, as an Assignment to Mr. *Mann*, for whose Use and Benefit it was given; and that the Death of Sir *Samuel Maclellan*, and the not knowing of Mr. *Mann*, were the Reasons why Mr. *Walpole's* Name was made use of.

It farther appears, that the Note upon the first Contract, from May 1709 to May 1710, was not given till the 29th of June 1710,

1710, when the certain Profits arising from it might be known. This would hardly have been, if Mr. *Walpole* had received it as a Consideration to influence him in the Contract; and therefore determines it to be really a Share of the neat Profit.

But might not Mr. *Mann*'s Name be made use of, when this Share was in truth reserved for Mr. *Walpole*?" In Answer to this, we have Mr. *Mann*'s positive Oath, besides the Improbability that Mr. *Walpole* should act so absurd a Part: For when he had been cautious to send Mr. *Mann* to meet Sir *Samuel Maclellan*, and personate him through the whole Agreement about the Share, is it likely that he should at last forget all this Caution, when it was most necessary, and endorse a Note that was in reality payable to himself?

Upon the whole, it does not appear that the House of Commons had sufficient Proof of Mr. *Walpole*'s Corruption, to justify their Severity towards him; and clear Proof, in a Case of this Nature, was certainly necessary: I am pretty ready therefore to think, with the Friends of this Gentleman, that
his

his Attachment to the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* Ministry, and his great Influence in the House of Commons, contributed more than any real Conviction of Guilt, to this Censure and Imprisonment.

But then, while I deny the Sufficiency of the Proof, I cannot think the Probability of the Fact to be so entirely removed as they would argue. We have heard of many collusive Contracts, made in the Name of a third Person; and it is hardly probable that a Secretary of War would lavishly give away so large a Sum as 500 *l.* a Year, when he might altogether as easily have made it his own. In short, this Case is attended with so many odd Circumstances, that it is like to remain one of the most obscure Parts of the late Minister's History.

All the Whigs however, and Friends to the *Hanover* Succession, look'd on him, on this Occasion, as a sort of Confessor in their Cause: And the Merit of a false Imprisonment, at the same time that the Duke of *Marlborough* became a voluntary Exile from his Country, was no doubt a very great Recommendation of him to his late Majesty.

jeſty. It is certain the Parliament, by whom this was done, drove on with great Violence againſt all on that Side the Queſtion; of which there needs no better Proof than the whole Report, from which I have taken two or three Paragraphs. Not in Lord Oxford's Time only, but under moſt Adminiſtrations, it is ſufficient Guilt in a leading Man to be againſt the Miniſtry.

In another Report made by the ſame Commiſſioners, *March 1711-12*, we have a ſecond Charge upon Mr. *Walpole*, in the following Words:

“ Tho' your Commiſſioners are not yet
 “ poſſeſs'd of all the Accounts of the Na-
 “ vy, they think it their Duty to repreſent
 “ ſome Articles of Payments in the Ac-
 “ counts laid before them by Mr. *Walpole*,
 “ late Treafurer of the Navy, which being
 “ made at a Time when that Service was
 “ clog'd with great Debts, ſeem very extra-
 “ ordinary, and ſuch as they apprehend are
 “ inconſiſtent with the Rules of the Navy:
 “ The firſt Inſtance is a Payment of
 “ 2000 l. by Mr. *Walpole* to the Earl of
 “ *Oxford*, out of the Money properly ap-
 “ plicable

“ plicable to the Use of the Navy, by vir-
 “ tue of a Warrant from her Majesty,
 “ bearing Date the 13th of *July*, 1710;
 “ which was given to the said Earl, as
 “ her Majesty’s royal Bounty.

“ The other Instance is two Payments,
 “ amounting to 1452 *l.* 14 *s.* 8 *d.* made
 “ also by Mr. *Walpole* to *Henry Priestman*,
 “ Esq; pursuant to a Warrant from her
 “ Majesty, dated *July* 7, 1710, which
 “ directs that 10,000 *l.* *per Annum* should
 “ be paid during her Pleasure, out of such
 “ Money as then was, or should be in Mr.
 “ *Walpole*’s Hands for the Service of the
 “ Navy. Both which are countersign’d,
 “ *Godolphin*.

“ How prejudicial the Allowance of
 “ these Articles may be to the Public, we
 “ presume not to affirm; but must acquaint
 “ you, that the Commissioners of the Navy,
 “ whose Duty it is to inspect and sign the
 “ Treasurer’s Account, say, that they never
 “ knew any such Warrants heretofore, and
 “ that regularly all Warrants should come
 “ from the Lords of the Treasury, or
 “ Lords of the Admiralty, to them.

“ We

“ We therefore humbly submit to the
 “ House, Whether these Warrants ought
 “ to have been answer’d by the Treasurer
 “ of the Navy, tho’ countersign’d by the
 “ Lord Treasurer.”

As we do not meet with any Resolutions
 in consequence of this Part of the Report,
 it is presumed that Mr. *Walpole* was thought
 justifiable in what he had done; which,
 at this Time, was a great Matter in his
 Favour: For, if we may credit Report,
 the Ministry were so enraged against him,
 that they protracted the Session of Parlia-
 ment by Adjournment, instead of ending
 it by Prorogation, purely to mortify this
 Gentleman, who chose rather to continue
 Prisoner in the *Tower* than to make his
 Submission to the House.

In the next Parliament, *March* the 12th,
 1714, Mr. Auditor *Foley* made a Complaint
 to the House of three printed Pamphlets,
The Crisis; and two of the Papers call’d
The Englishman, (written by *Richard Steele*,
 Esq;) “ as containing several Paragraphs
 tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon
 her Majesty, and arraigning her Admini-
 stration

stration and Government." This Motion, after Mr. *Steele* had prepared himself till the 18th, produced a remarkable Debate, in which Mr. *Walpole* distinguish'd himself greatly in Behalf of Liberty, and added to the Popularity he had before acquired among the Whigs.

But what more particularly enhanced his Merits with the illustrious House of *Hanover*, was the Zeal he shew'd for it on the 15th of *April* the same Year, when the Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, consider'd the State of the Nation, with regard to the Protestant Succession. For the Question being put, "Whether the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover* be in Danger under her Majesty's Government;" and Mr. Secretary *Bromley* having endeavour'd to prove the Negative, Mr. *Walpole*, with a great deal of Vivacity, answer'd him; "Shew'd the Danger to be not from her Majesty, but from the dubious Conduct of some Persons; and therefore insisted, that her Majesty might not be mention'd in the Question." He was

was not the less applauded on this Occasion, because the Court Party prevail'd.

The *Schism* Bill, brought in the next Month, gave him another Opportunity of distinguishing his Eloquence, and Love of Liberty civil and religious.

On the first of *August*, the same Year, *Queen Anne* departed this Life, when the Politicks of the Nation immediately took a new Turn. The Whig Party, of which *Mr. Walpole* was a chief Leader, prevail'd both at Court and in the Senate. He had the Honour to procure the Assurances of the House to the new King, which were sent over with the Address of Condolance and Congratulation, "That the Commons would make good all parliamentary Funds;" and to prevent *Sir William Wyndham*, a Gentleman suspected by the *Hanover* Party, from being put into the Chair in the grand Committee of Subsidy.

After all these Services, it might well be expected that *Mr. Walpole's* Promotion would not long be deferr'd. His Majesty came to *St. James's* on the 20th of *September*, and on the 27th of the same Month

Robert

Robert Walpole, Esq. was appointed Receiver and Paymaster-General of all the Guards and Garrisons, and of all other his Majesty's Land Forces in *Great-Britain*, and Paymaster of the Royal Hospital at *Chelsea*, in the Room of *John How* and *Arthur Moor, Esqs.* And two Days after, upon his Majesty's calling a new Privy Council, his Name was seen in the List of Lords and Gentlemen appointed to compose it.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, and a new one call'd, on the 13th of *April*, 1715, a Committee of Secrecy was chosen, consisting of 21 Persons, to inquire into the Conduct of the Queen's late Ministry. *Mr. Walpole* being one of the Number, he was the same Evening elected their Chairman: And tho' he was unable, by reason of Illness, immediately to attend that Service, they did not chuse another in his Room, but appointed *Mr. Secretary Stanhope* to officiate till his Recovery.

June the 9th, *Mr. Walpole*, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, " That he had a Report to present,

“ according to their Order ; but that he
 “ had the Command of the Committee to
 “ make a Motion to the House, before he
 “ read the Report, which contain’d Mat-
 “ ters of the highest Importance : That tho’
 “ the Committee had Power to send for
 “ Persons, Papers, and Records, they did
 “ not think fit to make use thereof ; be-
 “ lieving it to be necessary, in order to the
 “ bringing Offenders to Justice, that some
 “ Persons should be secured, before ’tis
 “ possible they should know what they
 “ are to be examined to, and lest they
 “ should have Notice, from what should
 “ be read in the Report, to make their
 “ Escape : That he was commanded there-
 “ fore by the Committee, according to
 “ former Precedents, to move, that a War-
 “ rant be issued by Mr. Speaker, to appre-
 “ hend certain Persons, who shall be
 “ named to him by the Chairman of the
 “ said Committee ; and that no Member
 “ may go out of the House.”

The proper Resolutions being taken, Mr.
 Speaker issued out his Warrants to the Ser-
 jeant at Arms, to take into Custody the
 several

several Persons named by Mr. *Walpole*; particularly Mr. *Matthew Prior*, and Mr. *Thomas Harley*; the first of whom was immediately apprehended, and the other some Hours after.

Mr. *Walpole* then read the Report, and deliver'd it in at the Table, together with the Appendix, and the Books refer'd to by the Committee. As the Reading took up five Hours, from One till Six in the Afternoon, a Motion was made by the Friends of the late Ministry, and the Question put, That the second Reading, by the Clerk of the House, be put off till next Morning: But it pass'd in the Negative, and the Clerk read till half an Hour after Eight.

As the Chairmanship of this Committee, and the Drawing-up of the Report, were some of the most remarkable Transactions of Mr. *Walpole*'s Life before he rose to the Head of Affairs, I shall give a short Idea of the latter, which, with the Appendix, made a pretty considerable Volume.

The several Books and Papers refer'd to by the Committee, related, 1, to the late

Negotiations of Peace and Commerce; 2, to the intended Demolition of *Dunkirk*; 3, to the obtaining and disposing of the *Affiento* Contract; 4, to some Negotiations concerning the *Catalans*; and 5, to secret Transactions relating to the *Pretender*. The Committee, in this Report, only went thro' the first, fourth, and fifth Heads, and reserv'd for another the Affairs of *Dunkirk* and the *Affiento*.

If we divide the whole Piece into two general Parts, we shall find in the first these ten Points discuss'd. 1. The clandestine Negotiations with M. *Mefnager*, which produced two Sorts of preliminary Articles; the one private and special for *Great-Britain*, the other general for all the Allies. 2. The extraordinary Measures pursu'd, to form the Congress at *Utrecht*. 3. The Triflings and Amusements of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, by the Connivance of the *British* Ministers. 4. The Negotiations about the Renunciation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, by *Leopold XIV*, and his Family. 5. The fatal Suspension of Arms by the *English*, which occasion'd the Loss

at *Denain*. 6. The Siezure of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, in order to distress the Allies, and favour the *French*. 7. The Duke of *Ormond*'s acting in Concert with *Marshall Villars*, the *French* General. 8. The Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Journey to *France*, to negotiate a separate Peace. 9. Mr. *Prior*'s and the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Negotiations in *France*. 10. The precipitate Conclusion of the Peace at *Utrecht*, without insisting on such Terms as the State of Affairs gave room to demand.

In the second Part, the Committee offer to the House what they have found material, in the Papers refer'd to them, concerning the *Catalans* and the *Pretender*; insert at large a Letter from the Earl of *Oxford* to the Queen, dated *June* the 9th, 1714, together with an Account of public Affairs from *August* the 8th, 1710, to *June* the 8th, 1714; and conclude with taking Notice of several glaring Inconsistencies, that are obvious to every-body as they state the Facts, arising by Comparison of the late Queen's Declarations, at sundry Times, with the Measures her Ministers presumed to

take in carrying on these important Negotiations.

Speaking of her Majesty's Speech in June 1712, "It will be found, say they, that the Ministry did so grossly deceive the Queen, in order to impose upon the Parliament by her Authority, that there is scarce a Paragraph that does not contain some unfair, or at least equivocal Representation of the State of the Negotiations. And when the Queen was advised by her Ministers to make this Communication to the Parliament, as the Terms upon which a general Peace might be made, it is very evident, they had no Assurances that *France* would make good what they had prevail'd upon the Queen to declare in so solemn and public a Manner." — If we were here to ask, if the same Abuse of Royal Authority has not been often repeated since by following Ministers, what could they answer?

Mr. *Prior*, who was so nearly concern'd in the Contents of it, drew up an Answer to several Parts of this Report, wherein he criticises the Language and Stile, as well as
endea-

endeavours to falsify some of the Facts: I shall quote two or three Lines of the Criticism. "The first thing they express is, the
 " Surprise they are in to *find* several Books
 " and Papers *wanting*. To *find* them *want-*
 " *ing* is extreme good *English*: But the
 " Sense this Phrase must bear is, that they
 " *sought* for what they could *not find*." This Gentleman, no doubt, read over the Report with a severe Eye; otherwise such an Expression might perhaps have escaped him, because the Piece in general is allow'd to be well pen'd. But Mr. *Walpole's* Merit, as a Writer, might very well be given up, if we could but acquit him as a Minister.

Having mention'd Mr. *Prior*, I must take some Notice of his Examination before the Committee of Secrecy. Mr. *Walpole* had moved, that the Persons taken into Custody might be examined in the most solemn Manner; which being granted, he informed the House two Days after, that *Matthew Prior*, Esq; had been examined the Day before, when there appear'd such Matters of Importance, that the Committee desired he might be taken into close Custody, as he
 was

was accordingly. Mr. *Prior* has drawn up an Account of this Matter himself, which was printed a few Years ago, wherein he has humourously painted the Characters and Behaviour of several of the Committee-men, particularly Secretary *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Lord *Coningsby*, Mr. *Boscawen*, and Mr. *Walpole*, whom he puts in a sullen Humour: And speaking of *Boscawen*, he says, "I cannot here omit a ridiculous Instance of my *Middlesex* Justice's Skill in the Law: He was just going to set his Name on the left Hand of the Paper, where I was to have set mine; and if he had not been timely caution'd by the Chairman, it would have been the Deposition of *Hugh Boscawen*, *Jurat, coram me, Matt. Prior.*"

When the Commons, the next Day after reading the Report, resumed the Consideration of it, Sir *Thomas Hanmer* moved, that it might be refer'd to the 21st, and was seconded by the leading Men of that Side, who moved also, that the Report be printed. He was answer'd by Mr. *Walpole*, who insisted upon going through with the Affair, and was seconded by Secretary *Stanhope*.

These

These Gentlemen carried their Point, and then Mr. *Walpole* impeach'd *Henry* Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* of High-Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanours. Other Impeachments immediately follow'd.

On the first of *July*, after a Bill was order'd in for preventing Riots, Mr. *Walpole* made Complaint to the House of a printed Pamphlet, entitl'd the *Evening-Post*, wherein was the Copy of a Letter subscribed R. *W.* to the Lord *S——* at the *Bath*, which had been cried about as if wrote by him, Mr. *Walpole*, to Lord *Sunderland*, and maliciously and industriously sent over the Kingdom. As this Letter is something curious, and, if genuine, gives a pretty good Picture of the Temper of the then Ministry, (among whom Mr. *Walpole* must be reckon'd) I cannot resist the Temptation of inserting a Copy of it here. Private Letters are the best Inlet to History, and should never be neglected.

“ My Lord,

“ I have received your Lordship's Letter, the Contents of which are rather a

“ Concern

“ Concern to me than a Surprise : In the
 “ general Corruption, I had little Reason
 “ to believe the Neighbourhood where your
 “ Lordship is should escape untainted.

“ By this Post you will have an Account
 “ from Lord T—— of what has been done
 “ in these Parts, with some Particulars of
 “ the *Oxford* Riot. The inclosed, my
 “ Lord, is a Copy of a Letter sent to Dr.
 “ *Charlette* : But it is not Writing that will
 “ be ever able to reduce that University to
 “ a State of Discipline or Order ; other
 “ Means are necessary.

“ I am now to tell your Lordship, the
 “ Committee have finished their Report,
 “ and will lay it before the House in a
 “ few Days. What the Result will be I
 “ am doubtful : But we have now nothing
 “ for it but a bold Push, and accordingly
 “ have determined to allow no Time to the
 “ Enemy to examine or consider the Re-
 “ port.

“ The Impeachment will be for High-
 “ Treason and other Crimes ; and I wish
 “ we have not in this Resolution strained
 “ Matters too far. Not that I believe we are

“ in

“ in any Danger of not seeing your Lord-
 “ ships confirm whatever Accusation we
 “ shall bring before you : But the People, who
 “ *think* they have a Right to look into our
 “ Actions, know their Strength, know how
 “ far they have gone, and that they can
 “ secure themselves only by going farther.

“ If on any drunken Holiday the Go-
 “ vernment is over-run with Rioters and
 “ seditious Assemblies, what Opposition
 “ may we not reasonably expect, when we
 “ are leading the Favourites of the Faction
 “ to the Scaffold ?

“ If we fail in our Attempt, we must be
 “ content to bear the Yoke we have been
 “ preparing for our Enemies : If we should
 “ succeed, we shall never more be troubled
 “ with that Spirit which has been so long
 “ grievous to us.

“ The Guards are sent for to be in rea-
 “ diness : But I am very doubtful how far
 “ they will come into what is necessary,
 “ should there be Occasion for them ; and
 “ must therefore go along with those who
 “ hold a Necessity of raising Assistance
 “ from foreign Troops.

“ My

“ My Lord, I shall say no more; *Jacta*
 “ *est Alea*, and Fortune in a few Weeks will
 “ dispose of us one Way or other.”

To Lord S— at Bath. I am, &c. R. W.

Upon reading this Letter it was *resolved*,
Nemine Contradicente, that the said Letter
 inserted in the said *Evening Post*, is a false,
 scandalous, and seditious Libel, highly re-
 flecting on his Majesty, and both Houses
 of Parliament: And *ordered*, That a Com-
 mittee be appointed to inquire into the
 Author, Printer, and Publisher, of the said
 false, scandalous, and traitorous Libel. Ano-
 ther Complaint was at the same Time made
 against a Paragraph in the said Paper, con-
 cerning one *John Bournois*, a French School-
 Master, who had been whipt for seditious
 Words, and afterwards discharged, because
 it asserted that the said *Bournois* died the
 next Day of the *King's Evil*: Upon which
 the Author was ordered to be inquired into,
 and the Printer and Publisher to be taken
 into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms at-
 tending the House.

What

What I before observed, which I believe no Party will deny, "That we cannot always form Ideas of Facts or Characters from the Resolutions of a House of Commons," may perhaps be as applicable here as in the Case of the Forage Contract: It may no more prove that Mr. *Walpole* was not the Author of this Letter, than that he really was guilty of the Breach of Trust and Corruption charged upon him in the former Censure: And methinks there is so much the Air of a genuine Letter, written in full Confidence from one Person to another where both were in the Secret, that I should not easily believe it fictitious. How it came into other Hands than it was design'd for, as I have nothing to inform me, I shall not pretend to conjecture.

On the 7th of *July*, Mr. *Walpole* reported to the House, from the proper Committee, and read in his Place, Articles of Impeachment against *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*; and maintain'd the Validity of the Charge of High Treason, in the Eleventh Article, against Sir *Joseph* *Jekyll*, who was also one of the Committee. In this Debate there

was

was some Warmth, and several Speakers on both Sides: But Mr. *Walpole* carried the Question by a great Majority, after the Article had been amended.

The next Month, on the fourth and fifth Days, he reported and read Articles of Impeachment against the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* and the Duke of *Ormond*; and on the 6th, he carried up to the Lords the Articles against *Bolingbroke*, and impeach'd him of High Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanours.

On the 19th he reported the Examination of *Thomas Harley*, Esq; and on the 31st the Articles of Impeachment against *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*.

When the Answer of the Earl of *Oxford*, to the Articles exhibited against him by the Commons, was read in the House, Mr. *Walpole* made a very remarkable Speech; the Substance of which I ought not to omit; as I may have Occasion hereafter to refer to it: At least it will teach the Reader, from that Gentleman's own Mouth, how to look on Transactions of a much later Date.

He

He said, " That he had not yet had
 " Time to peruse and examine that An-
 " swer, but that he now heard it read with
 " a great deal of Attention, and, in his
 " Opinion, it contain'd little more than
 " what had been suggested in Vindication
 " of the late Measures, in a Pamphlet in-
 " titled, *The Conduct of the Allies*, and
 " repeated over and over in the Papers
 " call'd *The Examiner* (a). That the
 " main Drift of this Answer seem'd to
 " prove these two Assertions: 1st, That
 " the Earl of Oxford had no Share in the
 " Advising and Managing the Matters
 " mention'd in the Articles against him;
 " but that the late Queen did every thing;
 " and, 2^{dly}, That the late Queen was a
 " wise, good, and pious Princess. That
 " if the second Proposition were not better
 " grounded than the first, the Reputation
 " of that excellent Princess would be very
 " precarious: But as every-body must own
 " her to have been a good and pious Queen,
 " so it was notorious that the Earl of Ox-
 " ford, as *Prime Minister*, was the chief
 " Adviser,

(a) Both written by Dr. Swift.

“ Adviser, Promoter, and Manager, of the
 “ Matters charg’d upon him in the Arti-
 “ cles; and therefore his Answer was a
 “ false and malicious Libel, laying upon
 “ his Royal Mistress the Blame of all the
 “ pernicious Measures he had led her into,
 “ against her own Honour and the Good
 “ of his Country. That he hoped the
 “ Earl’s Endeavours to screen himself be-
 “ hind the Queen’s Name would avail him
 “ nothing. That it is, indeed, a funda-
 “ mental Maxim of our Constitution, that
 “ *Kings can do no Wrong*; but that, at the
 “ same Time, it is no less certain that
 “ *Ministers of State are accountable for their*
 “ *Actions*: Otherwise a Parliament would
 “ be but an empty Name; the Commons
 “ should have no Business in that Place, and
 “ the Government would be absolute and ar-
 “ bitrary. That tho’ the Earl had the
 “ Assurance to aver, that he had no Share
 “ in the Management of Affairs that were
 “ transacted while he was at the Helm; yet
 “ he pretended to justify the late Measures,
 “ and therefore, in that Respect, his An-
 “ swer ought to be look’d on as a Libel
 “ against

against the Proceedings of the House of Commons, since he had endeavour'd to clear those Persons (the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke) who had already confess'd their Guilt by their Flight."

As this was on the 2d of September, on the 16th, Mr. *Walpole*, from the Committee, reported and read their Replication to his Lordship's Answer; which was agreed to, and order'd to be ingross'd.

Mr. *Prior*, still in Custody of the Sergeant at Arms, having sent a Letter to the House, relating to the Circumstances of his Confinement, it was order'd, that the said Letter be refer'd to the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords, to lay before the House so much as they should think proper of the Evidence of Mr. *Prior*, and also a State of the Circumstances of his Confinement. Mr. *Walpole*, as Chairman of this Committee, made a Report on the Occasion sixteen Days after, alledging Mr. *Prior*'s Guilt, and the Necessity of keeping him

confined as a material Evidence; because there was "great Reason to apprehend, if he were set at liberty, that he would immediately withdraw himself, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the Justice of the Nation." Upon this Mr. *Prior's* Imprisonment was continued, and the Committee were impower'd to sit, notwithstanding any Adjournment of the House.

On the 10th of *October* this Year, 1715, Mr. *Walpole* was constituted First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer: A Reward, no doubt, for the eminent Service he was thought to have done the Nation and the Crown, in the vigorous Prosecution of those Ministers, who were said to have "brought a Reproach on their Country, by the unsuitable Conclusion, of a War, which had been carried on at so vast an Expence, and attended with so much Success."

In 1716 he was one of the Managers against the Rebel Lords, upon their Impeachment, and answer'd Sir *Constantine Phips*, who was of the Counsel for the Earl

of

of *Wintoun*: But I do not find that he concern'd himself with the famous Bill, that hath since been so much complain'd of, and which was sent down to the Commons by the Lords, whereby the Continuance of Parliaments was enlarg'd from three Years to seven. If this Law, which is thought to have supported him in his long Ministry at least equally with any other, be any ways chargeable therefore to his Account, it is only that he has annually since oppos'd the Repeal, not that he openly promoted the passing of it.

In the Beginning of the next Session, Mr. *Walpole*, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved, and it was resolv'd, That whoever should advance any Sum, not exceeding 600,000 *l.* for the Service of the Public by Sea or Land, should be repaid the same with Interest at 4 *per Cent.* out of the first Aid to be granted that Session. But this not taking Effect, and not above 45,000 *l.* being subscribed in three Days, he seconded a Motion of Mr. *Leckmere* for a speedy Supply, "because, he said, he was inform'd that some Stockjobbers, in order

to deter the Parliament from pursuing the Design of reducing the public Debt, had form'd a Combination to distress the Government, and ruin public Credit."

Mr. *Lechmere*, notwithstanding his own Motion, answer'd, that "as none but the most wicked of Men could enter into such a Combination against the Good of their Country, the honourable Member who spoke last would do well to name them, that the House might shew the utmost Resentment and Indignation against them." He then imputed the ill Success of the Loan to some Reflections lately cast on the money'd Men and Stockjobbers, and to certain Maxims lately advanced, that the Parliament might exert their Authority to extricate themselves, by reducing the national Debts; urg'd the Necessity of a Vote, that all parliamentary Engagements should effectually be made good; the Ingratitude and Injustice of wronging those who had supported the Government in the greatest Exigencies; and the Violation of public Faith, and Breach of parliamentary Engagements, that

that there would be in meddling with Annuities granted for a Term of Years.

In answer to this, Mr. *Walpole* declared, "That there never had been a Design to use any Compulsion with regard to Annuities: That an Alternative might, indeed, be offered to the Proprietors, but that it should be in their Choice either to accept or refuse it: And as for such Funds as were redeemable, that nothing should be proposed which did not entirely consist with Justice and public Faith."

This Debate, as it was but a Month before Mr. *Walpole's* Resignation, and gave the first Notice of a Misunderstanding among his Majesty's Servants, it was proper to give some Account of. In a Word, the Interest of Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, and his Adherents, began to outweigh that of the Exchequer, and Mr. *Walpole's* great Power was visibly on the Wane.

Upon a Message sent to the House of Commons by his Majesty, April 4, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* moved for a Supply "to enable his Majesty to concert such Measures with Foreign Princes and States, as might

prevent any Charge or Apprehensions from the Designs of *Sweden* for the future." This occasion'd a warm Debate, in which unguarded Expressions were drop'd on both Sides, between Mr. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Mr. *Horatio Walpole* for the Motion, and Mr. *Shippen*, Mr. *Hungerford*, and Mr. *Lawson* against it: When it was remarkable, that Mr. *Robert Walpole*, who, on all such Occasions, us'd to give a great Bias to the House, kept a profound Silence. It is suppos'd that this was the Reason, that four Days after, when the Affair came again before the Committee, the Gentlemen in the Country Interest, who insisted upon the Unparliamentariness of granting Supplies without an Estimate, took Notice, that his Majesty's own Ministers seem'd to be divided about the Matter: But Mr. *Walpole*, tho' withdrawing from the Service, thought proper, upon this, to speak for the Supply that Day in the Committee, and the next Day upon the Report, when it was carry'd by a Majority of four Voices only.

Before

Before I proceed, it is proper to say a few Words of this *Swedish* Business, which occasion'd such Divisions at Home, and was so much talk'd of all over *Europe*.

While *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* was in Exile at *Bender*, after the unfortunate Battle of *Pultowa*, his Dominions were harass'd continually, and some of them divided among his Enemies. The King of *Denmark* got the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Ferden*, lying between the *Elbe* and the *Weser*, and between the Dominions of the House of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, and the *German* Ocean. This made them a commodious Purchase for the King of *Great-Britain*, Elector of *Hanover*, as they would open him a Communication between his Electorate and his Kingdoms. The King of *Denmark* easily parted with the precarious Tenure, which a little Success on the Side of *Charles* would have enabled him to recover, and for the Loan of 60,000 Pistoles *George I.* got them sequester'd into his Hands. The *Swedish* Hero, enraged to see his Dominions thus publicly put to Sale, conceived a Resentment against the Purchaser,

Purchaser, who at that Time reign'd in the Hearts of but half his Subjects. An unsuccessful Rebellion had indeed somewhat reduc'd the opposite Party, but had not alter'd their Sentiments; and they waited but for proper Assistance to make another Push, in Behalf of him whom they deem'd their rightful Sovereign.

If they had look'd through all *Europe*, scarce such another Leader as the King of *Sweden* could have been found for their Purpose. He was return'd to his shattered Dominions, breathing Vengeance against all his Oppressors. *Gortz*, his Minister, enter'd into a Correspondence with Cardinal *Alberoni*, who in a short Time had greatly restored the Affairs of *Spain*, and they between them form'd the Plan of an Invasion in *Scotland*, where the Heads of the Party were let into the Design, and expected the Execution with Impatience. To manage Things the better, *Gortz* went Embassador to *Holland*, and *Gyllenburg*, one of his Creatures and an able Man, was sent into *England*. Even the Czar *Peter* was on the Point of coming into this Scheme,

which

which was to terminate the War between him and Sweden.

Philip Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, had Notice from his Spies of this Conspiracy; and, as there was a strict Friendship between him and the King of Great-Britain, he sent Advice of it to London. Immediately Gyllenburg was seiz'd in that Capital, as was Gortz soon after at the Hague. Their Papers were publish'd by the British Ministry, and the whole Design, by being expos'd, blew over. But tho' the Danger was past as to Great-Britain, it was not so as to the Electorate of Hanover, then actually in Hostilities with the Swedish Nation. The Peace of the Empire, which it is the Interest of Great-Britain to preserve, was a very good Pretence for employing of British Money or Forces in Defence of this Part of it. But then, by a Clause in the Act of Settlement, this was by no Means ever to be done; and the Country Party pretended they could see thro' the Disguise, and that the Security of the new Acquisitions was the Matter aim'd at by this unprecedented Supply. Nor did the Ministry fail

fail to enlarge on the great Value of them, even to *Great-Britain*, by their Maritime Situation,

If the true Cause of Mr. *Walpole's* Defection from the Court had been his Disapprobation of the Measures then pursuing, from an Opinion that they were an Infringement of any such Clause, we must have own'd this to be one of the most shining Parts of his History: But as he made no such explicit Declaration, and on the second Day even spoke for the Supplies in a Way which the Patriots deem'd unparliamentary, we must attribute it to some other Motive; perhaps to Disappointment, and the Chagrin of seeing another Minister, Secretary *Stanhope*, more trusted than himself.

However that might be, it is well known that on the 11th of *April*, the very Day he brought in the Bill for the famous Sinking Fund, he resign'd all his Places to the King: As did the same Day *Paul Methuen*, Esq; one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; *William Pulteney*, Esq; Secretary at War; Sir *William St. Quintin*, and *Richard Edgewcombe*, Esq; two of the Commissioners
of

of the Treasury: In short, there was a great Revolution at Court, Mr. *Walpole* being at the Head of those who left it, and Mr. *Stanbope* of those that continued, or were brought into Place. The Town swarm'd with Pamphlets on both Sides, some of them written by the Heads of the Parties themselves, or under their immediate Direction. A few Extracts from the best of these will give a better Idea of this Affair, than can be otherwise form'd at this Distance; will shew, at the same Time, of what great Consideration Mr. *Walpole* was then thought; what was his Character with his Enemies, and what with his Friends; upon which every Man will be at liberty to make his own Reflections.

I begin with a Piece call'd *The Defection consider'd*, which seems to charge on Mr. *Walpole* the Resignation of all the rest, and makes the whole an Effect of his Disappointment only. "Strangers, says the Author, think these Quarrels among Men, whose Principles are the best calculated for the Good of Mankind, must have some extraordinary Reasons. They can't well imagine

" imagine that *They*, who have caused those
 " Divisions, have nothing to object against
 " the present Administration; and that it
 " is chiefly for the Sake of a *single Person*,
 " who, not content with the most bene-
 " ficial Posts, threw up in a Pot, because
 " he could not govern every Thing; and
 " then confederated with such, as, till the
 " Moment he declared himself a Country
 " Gentleman, he continually represented as
 " the vilest of Men, and Traitors to their
 " King and Country."
 " And again, " Men in high Stations,
 " tho' they have fine and florid Parts, yet
 " if they want solid Sense, and a good
 " Stock of real Virtue, to enable them to
 " bear their Grandure with Moderation,
 " grow giddy and insolent upon their Exal-
 " tation; and, believing every Thing due
 " to their superior Merit, form Schemes of
 " engrossing their Royal Master, and think
 " they are affronted if any of their Crea-
 " tures (a) (how well soever they may de-
 " serve it) are turn'd out; or their Prince
 " bestows

(a). Lord *Townsend*, afterwards Secretary of State, was
 removed from the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, April 9.

" bestows his Favours (b) without their
 " Leave: And rather than suffer this, they
 " will throw up, tho' in the Middle of a
 " Session, and not scruple to embroil the
 " public Affairs, in order to make them-
 " selves necessary; and to force the Prince
 " to part with Those, who, he judges,
 " best deserve his Kindness, and to employ
 " none but them and their Creatures. —

" That such a Design was on foot, when
 " the King went abroad, is plain from two
 " Persons threatening to lay down, if that
 " most noble Peer (c) employ'd since with
 " so much Reputation, was made the third
 " Secretary of State. This Insolence, and
 " trusty *Herat* being officiously sent with
 " a Scheme for the Parliament's Sitting,
 " during the King's Absence, shock'd many
 " People; tho' far from imagining they
 " were capable of acting what hath since
 " been done.

" If a certain Gentleman contrived this
 " Scheme to get the Staff, and govern
 " England;

(b) I do not find any considerable Promotion immediately
 before Mr. *Walpole's* Resignation, only that the Lords
Torrington and *Cadogan* were sworn of the Privy Council.

(c) The D— of N—.

“ *England*; even his Instruments cannot
 “ hope to keep their Posts, but by an ob-
 “ sequious, slavish Compliance: For who-
 “ ever is *insolent* to his Prince, will be *in-*
 “ *tolerable*, when in Power, to his Fellow-
 “ Subjects; and he must have a vitiated
 “ Taste indeed, who thinks it not better
 “ to serve a good King, of whose Favour
 “ he may be sure as long as he does his
 “ Duty, than be a Slave to any Fellow-
 “ Subject; especially One, who lately would
 “ have thought himself very fortunate, if,
 “ instead of forming Schemes for the go-
 “ verning of these Kingdoms, he could
 “ have found Means of being freed from
 “ the *Inconveniences* he then labour’d
 “ under.

“ Quitting of Places is no Crime: But
 “ if several cabal to throw up, when the
 “ Government has most Occasion for their
 “ Services, in order to force it to comply
 “ with their unreasonable Demands, this
 “ is a very criminal Conspiracy, especially
 “ in *that Person*, who has not only got in-
 “ credible Sums for *himself*, but who could
 “ ask nothing of his generous Master (and
 “ all

“ all the World knows, he is none of the
 “ *most modest* in asking) for his *Children*,
 “ *Relations*, and *Friends*, but what has
 “ been given him. This must fill every
 “ honest *Briton* with Indignation against
 “ such *vile Ingratitude*.

The Charge goes yet farther, and, if true,
 amounts to all we should expect to see in
 the most wicked of Men. “ A brave Man,
 “ if driven to Extremity, would rather
 “ employ one, who had been an open
 “ Enemy, than a *treacherous Friend*; who
 “ has convinced the World, that there is
 “ no Tie capable to hold him; but that he
 “ is ready to sacrifice every thing to his
 “ *Interest, Ambition, or Revenge*”:

It was not to be expected that the Forage
 Contract, for which his Name had been
 branded by the House of Commons, should
 be pass'd over on such an Occasion: Ac-
 cordingly this Author attacks the Merit of
 his Steadiness, when he refused to make his
 Submission to the House, by insinuating
 that it was rather Assurance he should meet
 with no Favour, than Consciousness of his
 E own

own Innocence, that made him persist thus in the Defence of his Integrity.

“ Most People thought (and I own I
 “ was of that Number) that the Usage
 “ *this Gentleman* met with from the Tories,
 “ was sufficient to shew that no Price could
 “ gain him: But, in Truth, they did not
 “ consider, that after the Whigs had been
 “ charged with cheating and plundering
 “ the Publick, and no Proof was made of
 “ it, a Vote of the House of Commons,
 “ of a *Breach of Trust* and *notorious Cor-*
 “ *ruption* in any Man among them, who
 “ had been employ'd in such eminent Posts,
 “ would be of more Advantage to the
 “ Tories, than all the Services *He* could do
 “ them [*ergo*, they might have had his
 “ Service] and they were sure he should do
 “ them no Hurt, being resolved to *expell*
 “ him the House.” The Reflection that
 follows upon this Subject is pretty *severe*.

“ A Man once sent to Prison for *Bribery*
 “ and *Corruption*, (no Matter if the Mo-
 “ ney was for *himself* or his *Creature*) be-
 “ comes as harden'd, as a Wench sent to
 “ *Bridewell* for a less Fault: But could he
 “ offer

“ offer 90,000 *l.* for one Purchase, or
 “ were he worth but half as much as his
 “ Friends say he is, it supposes several such
 “ *Jobs* must have been done ; without which
 “ a Government, according to Lord *H—t*,
 “ is not worth serving.”

By praising the *present* Managers of the
 Treasury, another Censure was doubtless
 meant on the *late*, when Mr. *Walpole* was
 at the Head of that Office.

“ It cannot be denied, that Things are
 “ now in so good a Method, and so quick-
 “ ly expedited in the Treasury, that the
 “ Lords Commissioners never rise, till they
 “ have dispatch'd whatever Business comes
 “ before them : So that, at their last Ad-
 “ journment, there was not a Paper left un-
 “ determined. There is now no Complaint
 “ of a *certain Office* held in the *Strand*, or
 “ any where else, which disposed of Places
 “ to the best Bidder ; or of Grants of
 “ Places in *Reversion*, or for *Life*, to Chil-
 “ dren and Relations.”

Bad enough hitherto ! But if the Innu-
 endo that follows had any Foundation, and
 could the Fact have been proved, we may

not only wonder that the *guilty Person* should be again restored to the same high Employments, with more Confidence than before, but we may even wonder that he should at this Time escape with Impunity!

“ People were surprised to find so little
 “ Regard paid to the frequent Petitions of
 “ the Merchants, complaining of the In-
 “ terruption of their Trade in the *Baltick*,
 “ and the Taking such Numbers of their
 “ Ships by the *Swedes*; and that, even while
 “ we had a Royal Navy in the *Sound*,
 “ they were permitted with Impunity to
 “ act the Pirates: But *Gyllemburg's* Letters
 “ help to explain this Mystery; where we
 “ find that the Ships taken from *us* were
 “ to serve as Transports to *their* Army. Had
 “ not this *bellish Conspiracy* been seasonably
 “ discovered, what Sums might not the
 “ Posts, which a *certain Gentleman* then
 “ enjoy'd, have gain'd him by this Invasion;
 “ since no Expence would have been thought
 “ too great to have quickly got rid of those
 “ barbarous Ravagers?” Monstrous indeed!
 that a Minister should put his Country in
 Danger, that he might come in for Snacks
 of

of the Money raised to preserve her, which on such an Occasion could not be brought to a strict Account, nor was the next Particular less *remarkable*, less *unjust*, or less *cruel* in its Nature, supposing it as here insinuated.

“ Every one was at first surpris’d to see,
 “ that tho’ the Rebels might have been
 “ with little Expence tried in the *North*,
 “ where they were taken, and where the
 “ Witnesses were ready at hand, yet none
 “ but the poorer and meaner Sort were
 “ there tried; but all of any tolerable Con-
 “ dition or Substance were, at a great
 “ Charge to the Government, brought to
 “ Town: This, I say, surpris’d People,
 “ till they consider’d that no Bargains could
 “ conveniently be made but *here*; and that
 “ here was the *Money* of the Party, as well
 “ as their common Rendezvous; and that
 “ it might well be presumed, they would
 “ not spare their Purses, to save the Lives
 “ of *Those* who had ventured every Thing
 “ for the Cause.

“ If Men are in haste to grow rich, there
 “ is no doubt more to be got by not prosecu-

“ ting, or saving, than by hanging: and
 “ we may guess at the Reason why two
 “ Persons, (not to mention others) *one*,
 “ who knew there was such plain Evidence
 “ against him; that in Despair he stab’d
 “ himself, and the other, tho’ now a new
 “ Ally, thought so great a Criminal, with
 “ such full Proof against him, as not to be
 “ admitted to Bail upon any Terms, were
 “ both *dismissed* without any Prosecution.”

Pretty near the same Charges, with some
 other Circumstances, are laid in the *Answer*
to the Character and Conduct of R— W—le,
Esq; with an exact Account of his Popularity.
 I shall be indulged a Quotation or two from
 this also, as it makes entirely for my
 Purpose.

“ There is no Crime that a Man can be
 “ guilty of, which I more abhor, than
 “ that of Bribery and Corruption, what-
 “ ever Qualifications he may have, whether
 “ in *speaking* or *writing* well. If once he
 “ gives himself up to *touching* (as they call
 “ it) I give him over as incurable: For if
 “ he is detected and rebuked, he will be
 “ apt to think that his Punishment will
 “ make

" make him *popular*; and if ever he comes
 " into Play again, he will be more voracious
 " than ever; and, if not more *cunning*, his
 " having been once in a Goal will make him
 " so *considerable*, that whatever *Re-*
 " you charge him with, he will only swear
 " at you, and in an impudent Manner
 " dare any one to tell what they know of
 " him. But his Impudence will not be all :
 " For he that hath once forfeited his *Cha-*
 " *ra*cter, is not unlike a Woman that hath
 " lost her *Modesty*. That Man who hath
 " once committed a Breach of Trust, either
 " towards his King or Country, I do be-
 " lieve there is a Consideration, that would
 " tempt him to *sell* either or both, as well
 " as their Favour, at a Time when he has
 " more Friends *unprovided* for, than can
 " support themselves."

And a little farther: " The King's Fa-
 " vours, we may now expect, will be no
 " longer confined to *one Province*; and those,
 " for the most Part, to *one Family*: But
 " they will be dispersed as generally as the
 " Sun shines, throughout the whole King-
 " dom,

dom, among his Majesty's loyal Protestant
Subjects.

Those who enjoy his Majesty's Favours at present, if they conduct themselves as they ought to do, shall no more be sent to, or obliged scandalously to truckle, and what they call *come down to* this or that Man, for he is acquainted with or related to a *certain Family*: He that has most Merit, and deserves best of his King and Country, will be duly preferred, without asking him where he was born, or whom he is *related to*? If he has Merit and Loyalty, he needs now no Money to advance him, since ROBINO-CRACY is banished. We shall have no Pensions ask'd for disaffected Relations; no Thousands a Year to any disaffected Man, because he is Uncle to a Man in Power; nor shall an honest Man be turned out of his Place, for an Uncle to be quartered on his Successor. I shall not mention any Thing of Reversions granted to Children, because they may grow up to be honest Men, and deserve them. —

—“ Tho’

— “ Tho’ some People have been
 “ pleased to compliment him so far, as to
 “ throw themselves out of all Employ-
 “ ments, I am apt to believe there are
 “ some, even of them, who will be very
 “ far from oppressing the King’s Servants,
 “ because Mr. *W——le* is not one of them;
 “ nor from venturing to say as *others* have
 “ done, that the King’s Service is a Burthen,
 “ too great for a *Man of Honour* to bear.
 “ And I doubt not but there will come a
 “ Day, when this Charge will not only
 “ turn upon the Authors of it, but that
 “ it will also be attended with such *Punish-*
 “ *ments* as are adequate to the *Ingratitude*
 “ and *Presumption* of the Man, who has
 “ dared to say, that there was any Thing
 “ *in the King’s Service* either *unjust* or *disbo-*
 “ *nourable* for any Man whatever to transact.—

— “ Since you are pleased to com-
 “ mend Mr. *W——le*’s Oeconomy in the
 “ *T——y*; his great Skill in preventing
 “ publick Credit from sinking; and that
 “ the publick Debts were not *increas’d*, but
 “ in a fair Way to be *lessen’d*; at least that
 “ *it would have been so, had he been suffer’d*

“ to

“ to continue in the Management; and his
 “ wise Notions and Judgment in improving
 “ Things relating to foreign Treaties: I
 “ shall tell you what I have heard of him:
 “ And in the first Place, as to *public Credit*,
 “ the Citizens will say, that he opposed a
 “ Motion that was made for a Resolution
 “ of Parliament to *support* Publick Credit.
 “ But perhaps you will say, he only did it
 “ in Opposition to a particular Person, who
 “ refused to draw with him: But be that
 “ as it will, every Body finds public Credit
 “ so much the better since his being turn’d
 “ out, that every Thing has risen 20 per
 “ Cent. more than it was during his Manage-
 “ ment. From whence you may judge,
 “ that the People, who have all along sup-
 “ ported the Government, and who must
 “ again do it, in Case of Necessity, have a
 “ much better Opinion of their Fortunes
 “ being in the Hands of the present Ad-
 “ ministration, than of their being in *his*;
 “ and that they will hardly ever care to
 “ trust a Man with their Estates, who
 “ shall take upon him to say, that *public*
 “ Credit

" *Credit is no more than what you are pleas'd*
 " *to make it. —*

— " You had best forbear calling
 " Ministers a *Faction*, or taking upon you
 " to censure the King, because Mr. *W—le*
 " is out of Humour. You make these
 " Comparisons with King *Charles's* and
 " King *James's* Ministers: Turn your Eyes
 " to the *Norfolk* Troop; and I believe you
 " will find them such *Flesh and Blood* as
 " those *mercenary, corrupt, and arbitrary*
 " Statesmen in those Reigns. But untill
 " you see some such Behaviour, believe me
 " that your Comparisons are very odious.
 " There is a great deal of Difference be-
 " tween a Man that has been *convicted*,
 " and one that has not. You may be fond
 " of your Friend; but whatever impartial
 " Man reads the *Journals of the House of*
 " *Commons*, he will be persuaded, as I am,
 " that a *certain Gentleman* has, once in his
 " Life Time, been as *corrupt and merce-*
 " *nary* as any, even of King *Charles's*
 " Courtiers.

This long String of Quotations will not,
 I presume be tiresome to the Reader, because
 it

it conveys one Side of the Question concerning the Merit of Mr. *Walpole's* Resignation, upon the Prevalence of Mr. *Stanhope's* Interest, join'd to that of Baron *B——r*, and the other *H——n* Ministers. According to this Deduction, *Prejudice, Self-interest, Spleen, Ambition, Disappointment, Revenge, Breach of Trust, Bribery, Notorious Corruption*, and I think almost *Tr——n*, were the chief Qualifications of the resigning Minister. One would imagine, by reading it over, that he was in his *Noviciate* almost as good a Master of his Business as he has since been esteem'd. And yet this Resignation among his Friends still passes for a *Master-Act of Patriotism*, and *sincere Attachment* to the *British Constitution*. If it should not appear so at last, I am afraid the most defensible Part of this *great Character* must be given up; and that we shall have but *too uniform* a Personage throughout our whole Drama. However, let us hear what can be said on the other Side, and afterwards winnow the Wheat from the Chaff in both Arguments, that we may weigh them in
opposite

opposite Scales: And here it is but just to begin with what the *great Man* (as is generally esteem'd) has said in Behalf of himself, in a Pamphlet entitled, *Some Persons vindicated against the Author of the Desection, &c. and that Writer convicted of Malice and Falsehood.* By R—— W—— Esq;

“ It seems to be the modern Vice of the
 “ Times, and peculiar to the Divisions of
 “ this Age, That as soon as any Man, for
 “ what Reasons soever, thinks fit to *de-*
 “ *cline* the Party he was engaged with, that
 “ Party endeavours to blacken and asperse
 “ him; load his Conduct with Reproaches,
 “ and his Person with Calumny, in the
 “ grossest Manner; without Respect to the
 “ *Dignity* or *Quality* of his Person, or the
 “ Character he has borne even among them-
 “ selves; and, which is still worse, without
 “ Respect to Truth or Justice, Humanity
 “ or Charity, much less Religion.
 “ It often happens, and indeed 'tis na-
 “ tural to believe, that it is *generally*, if
 “ not *universally*, so; that this is done to
 “ smother the real Causes or Defects in the
 “ *Party*, from whom those Persons draw
 “ off,

“ off, that the Knavery which could not
 “ be comply'd with, the Lengths which
 “ could not be run, the many secret Prac-
 “ tices which were disliked, and the Dif-
 “ like of which may have been the real
 “ Causes of declining the Service they were
 “ in, might be *conceal'd*.

“ Gentlemen in *high Posts* in the Govern-
 “ ment, and in the Administration of pub-
 “ lic Affairs, may find themselves uneasy in
 “ their Employments upon many Accounts
 “ (too many to mention here) and may
 “ chuse rather to quit their Employments,
 “ than to serve in the Manner and with those
 “ Uneasinesses they suffer'd; and yet it
 “ does not follow, that they have the least
 “ Deficiency in their Loyalty to their Prince,
 “ who perhaps is not at all the Cause of
 “ those Uneasinesses, nor any way privy
 “ to them: But it is very hard that those,
 “ who really were the Cause, and whose
 “ Measures the Persons declining chose
 “ rather to quit the *Profits* and *Honours* of
 “ the Service, than to comply with, should
 “ be at liberty to saddle the Offence, given
 “ only to those Men, upon their *Master*,
 “ and

" and reproach those Men with Want of
 " Duty, who really wanted only to be able
 " to serve, without *submitting their Judg-*
 " *ments* in Cases, which they could not
 " think it reasonable, or for their Master's
 " Service, to comply with.

" In a Word, 'tis a Scandal in the highest
 " Degree unjustifiable, that when Diffe-
 " rences may happen among the Managers
 " of Publick Affairs, the Persons who quit
 " the Service must always be charg'd with
 " *Disloyalty* and *Disaffection*; and, which is
 " worse, with *Designs*, which is the new
 " Calumny rais'd upon the Persons now to
 " be spoken of."

After this temperate Preface, the *honour-*
able Gentleman has this remarkable Paragraph,
 which I doubt will not be very intelligible after
 the Charges before recited, unless making of
Jobs, conniving with our *Enemies*, or waste-
 ing the public *Treasure* to support his own
Creatures, be admitted to be no Instances of
Mismanagement. — " Before I enter into
 " the Labyrinth of Words without Mean-
 " ning, which cram this *clamorous Libel*, it
 " is decent to inquire one Thing of its
 " Author,

" Author, viz. Whether it was Forgetful-
 " ness, or a Sense of the Impossibility of
 " performing it, which was the Occasion
 " that throughout his whole Book he has
 " not so much as attempted to charge
 " these Persons with *Mismanagement*, in the
 " great Employments which they have
 " borne the Weight of, through the Admi-
 " nistration of the *present* or *past* Reigns."
 " — Was it *Forgetfulness*, or the Hope that
 " one Side of the Question only would be
 " read, that occasioned this palpable *Mis-*
 " *representation?*"

But the Maxim he advances concerning
 the *Freedom of Judgment*, which every
 Minister of State ought to enjoy, will doubt-
 less be assented to by every *Briton*. " Mi-
 " nisters of State have always a Right of
 " preserving their own Principles, and a
 " Liberty of adhering to what in their
 " Judgment they think is for the Service
 " of their Country, and the Interest of the
 " Master they serve: Otherwise they were
 " *Slaves* by Office, and while they were
 " impowered to preserve the Rights and
 " Liberties of their *Fellow Subjects*, they
 " were

"were deprived of their *own*. It is no De-
 "rogation from the Sovereign to say, that
 "this Liberty is allowed to all his Majesty's
 "Servants, tho' they were to have the Mis-
 "fortune to differ in their Judgment from
 "that of the Sovereign himself. And our
 "own Government is not without many
 "Examples, recent in Memory, where this
 "has been practised without any Offence;
 "the Minister of State, who has the Mis-
 "fortune to differ in his Judgment, having
 "nothing to do, but with Duty and Re-
 "spect to resign his Employment.
 "Much more then is this Right and Claim
 "their just Due, when the Person, with
 "whom they differ, is not only not the Sove-
 "reign, but even their *Fellow-Servant* in the
 "Administration, and whose Judgment,
 "tho' founded ever so well upon right Prin-
 "ciples as to Duty, must be allowed to be
 "equally subject to *Mistake*, as that of our
 "own. In this Case the Minister differing,
 "and faithfully representing the Reason of
 "his Judgment, may have, perhaps, no
 "Misfortune in his Judgment, but that of
 "being *over-ruled*; which, in some Cases,
 "may

" may be as much a Misfortune to his
 " Country, as to himself, and more too."

I cannot pass over this memorable Passage, without reflecting on some of the Times that have elapsed since it was written, when not only Liberty of Judgment, in more than *one* Minister of State, was not allow'd; but an absolute Compliance with the good Pleasure of that *one*, in every Department of the Administration, was peremptorily required, as the only Title to, or Tenure of, any Employment whatsoever. 'Tis Pity the great Man of these Times had not given this Pamphlet a Reading, to refresh his Memory: Or perhaps he might think the Circumstances of Things entirely different, when Mr. *Walpole* was only Minister of the Treasury, Mr. *Stanhope* of the *Disputes*, and others of other Offices, and when Sir *Robert Walpole* was Prime Minister of Great Britain, without Director, Rival, or Competitor. Superior Judgment, without Question, was attach'd to such superior Authority, and the Country could suffer no Hazard of a Misfortune from the over-ruling Influence of so much Wisdom and Experience.

My

My Author proceeds: " Now whether
 this was the Case of the Persons whom
 this *Labeller* defames, or whether it was
 not; yet, for the Purpose, let me suppose
 it was; many Reasons forbidding me to
 enter here on the Specification of the
 Particulars. The *Labeller* is not ashamed
 to fight under the Protection of the pre-
 sent Ministry; as if no Man durst sup-
 pose any Thing; how much soever in his
 own Defence, which might look like a
 Reflection that Way. But he shall be
 driven from his Cover: For, without any
 Reproach upon, or Offence to the present
 Ministers of State, I shall suppose that
 they may differ with others, and others
 from them; or that any Ministers of State
 may differ in their Sentiments one from
 another, and yet may be all equally and
 sincerely attached to his *Majesty's Interest*,
 and to the Service of their *Country*. Nor
 is there any Design, in whatever is said
 here, so much as to insinuate that the
 Ministers, from whom these Persons dif-
 fer'd in the Administration of publick
Affairs, were not sincerely embark'd in

“ the *general Interest*, however they might
 “ be of a different Opinion as to the *Means*.
 “ The Business here is not to accuse any, or
 “ reflect upon any; but to defend *innocent*
 “ Persons against *unjust* Accusations and
 “ Reflections, and detect the Malice of them.
 “ The Question here is not to suggest that
 “ the Ministry, from whom these accused
 “ Persons are said to divide, are Enemies
 “ to the Interest of King George, and the
 “ Interest of their Country; but to make
 “ appear the Malice of those, who pretend
 “ the *others* are so. —

— “ It is evident, that there has not one
 “ *Vote* in Parliament gone contrary to the
 “ King's Desires. (*Most complaisant Senators!*
 “ *to make the King's Desire the Standard of*
 “ *their Votes.*) Even that of *asking Money*
 “ *without a Specification of the Manner of dis-*
 “ *posing it*, tho' opposed by many Gentlemen,
 “ whom those Persons had no Influence over,
 “ yet pass'd the House with the highest De-
 “ monstrations of Duty, and Confidence in
 “ his Majesty's Prudence, and his Royal In-
 “ clinations to do nothing but what should
 “ be for the Good of all his People.

“ Why

“ Why does not this Libeller give one
 “ Instance, wherein the King's Affairs have
 “ been distressed? and why does he not ex-
 “ plain what he means by these Men's ba-
 “ zarding all? Are the King's Affairs in a
 “ distressed Condition? Or are they not in the
 “ most flourishing Condition that ever they
 “ were in, or that ever this Nation knew
 “ the publick Affairs in?—

“ Do these Libellers think that
 “ the Reputation of *these Persons* must sink
 “ under their Calumny, for the bare single
 “ Step of disagreeing with the other Statef-
 “ men, whom they were embark'd with,
 “ and not perhaps concurring with their
 “ Methods in Management? Must they be
 “ *Jacobites*, because they do not consent to
 “ King George's Business *their Way*? May
 “ not both be equally sincere in the Royal
 “ Interest, tho' they do not set Horses to-
 “ gether in the Forms?

“ Why does not this Libeller let us know
 “ what it was *they* ever did, or offered to
 “ do, that was injurious to the King's In-
 “ terest, during the whole Time of their
 “ Management? To tell us what Measures

" they take *now*, and what Instruments they
 " think fit to use *since* is to enter upon a new
 " Argument; in which whoever dips, must
 " account also for the Usage they have
 " received from a scandalous, clamouring
 " Set of Men, as well in Pamphlets, Libels,
 " News-papers and Conversation, as *esse-*
 " *where*; which may have obliged them to
 " act in their own just Defence, and for
 " the effectual clearing up their own Re-
 " putation.

" The Quotation from the Libel
 " intimates *those* Persons getting *immense*
 " Sums by his Majesty's Bounty. If the
 " Libeller had not been known to be a
 " Man who never laid much Stress upon
 " the Proof of any Thing he said, or ever
 " endeavoured to be recommended to the
 " World for his *Keracity*, he would per-
 " haps have thought himself obliged to have
 " mentioned *some* of those immense Sums
 " these Persons have gained; he would have
 " laid open and exposed the Corruption of
 " their Administration, and the like. Where
 " have *they* made a Property of his Majesty's
 " Authority, or a Prey of his Subjects?
 " Whose

“Whose Or of whose Aids have they taken?
 “Who complains of their Exactions,
 “their Exertions, their Delays, or their
 “Injustice?”

In another Piece, entitled *the Defection
 detailed, or Faults laid on the right Side*, are
 found these Passages: “To accuse Gentlemen
 “who are irreproachable for *Loyalty* and *Con-*
 “*duct*, of Want of both; to arraign them
 “for Ingratitude and Treachery; to insult
 “them with odious Misrepresentations; are
 “Actions so flagrant and offensive to good
 “Manners, that (let the Quality of the Person
 “so doing, or so encouraging to be done,
 “be ever so great or conspicuous) the In-
 “justice or so criminal a Demeanour calls
 “loudly for the Annihilation of such as
 “have any Regard for *unjust* Reputations,
 “and *unblameable* Characters.”

“When they were in Place, how
 “were they not caressed and adored! Now
 “they are out of Employment, how not
 “derided and vilified! As if Reason, Elo-
 “quence, and Merit were annexed to an
 “Office, and those Excellencies of Pre-
 “caution and Management, that made

" them the Objects of the *Whigs* Admira-
 " tion and Esteem before, had no longer
 " Duration than their Abode in Courts.
 " As if to be dissatisfy'd with some Men's
 " Proceedings was to act in Disobligation
 " of the whole Party; and to refuse an
 " implicit Consent to some of their Fellow-
 " Servants Schemes, was to act in Con-
 " tempt of their Master?

One Pamphlet more, called *The Refrainers*
vindicated will detain me a little, and then,
 after a few Remarks on this important
 Period, I shall proceed with subsequent
 Transactions.

" If the Case of the Duke of Northum-
 " berland can bear any Parallel, I desire
 " him to apply his *Insolence*, *Covetousness*,
 " and *Ambition* in the right Place. I am
 " sure *He* has a less Title to it, who at-
 " tempts to shine but in *one Capacity*,
 " than *They* who would make us believe
 " they have a Genius for *half a Dozen*
 " *different Employments*." — *Quære*, Whe-
 " ther the *modest* Gentleman here meant, who
 " attempted to shine but in *one Capacity*, has
 " not since turn'd out one of those universal
 Genius's,

Genius's, that are equal to all the Employ-
ments of the Nation? If so, it verifies an
old Saying, That a Man never knows his
own Strength till he has *tried* it. *guinol*
kniff One would imagine, says the same
Author, there was something like Magic
And Places and Preferments. A Man no
sooner steps *into* them, but he has all
the Perfections of a little Divinity; and
he is no sooner *out*, but the Charm is
undone, and he becomes the most *dis-*
agreeable and *infamous* of Mankind. I
much question, if this Gentleman had lived
a few Years longer, but he would have
seen *one Man* as *infamous* and *disagreeable* in
Place and at the Head of *Placemen*, as
ever Malice and Falsehood could describe
him when out. *plain ; but the hour comes*
While Mr. *W—le* was at the Head
of the *T—y*, the Encomiums of
some Men ran so high upon his Admi-
nistration, that the *Cecils*, *Godolphins*, and
Halifax's were thought little, in respect
of his superior Merit. The *Whigs* were
so charm'd with him, that hardly any
thing was conducted without consulting
him

" him as an Oracle. His admirable Ad-
 " dress in the Affairs of the House, his
 " masterly Eloquence and nervous Rea-
 " soning, were the Subjects of all Convo-
 " cation. Now these very Persons think
 " his Oratory *color and lifeless*, as a certain
 " great Man's Prayer: His Wit and his Ar-
 " gument have lost all their Force, and even
 " Common Sense left him the Minute he
 " left his Place. Thus we see that Sense
 " and Integrity are merely *topical*, and a
 " Man must act within the Compass of a
 " prescribed Circle, or he runs the Risk
 " of forfeiting his Understanding and his
 " Morals. —
 " Speaking of the Defections, " How this
 " can be call'd a criminal Conspiracy, I
 " cannot understand; unless all *Resignation*
 " implies Guilt, in the same Manner as he
 " maketh all Continuance in Place to imply
 " Merit. An honest Man may be dissatis-
 " fy'd; he may think it improper to act in
 " particular Conjunctions, without incur-
 " ring the Censure of any-body; and who
 " can doubt but that he has good Reasons,

“ as the World goes, when he sacrifices
 “ his Interest to his Opinion? —

“ It is *unjust* and *uncharitable* to
 “ attribute an Action of such Consequence
 “ to *Pet, Whim, Humour, and Passion*; and
 “ he knows little of the World, who
 “ imagines *These* carry such a Sway with
 “ Men of a *sedate* Temper; and it shews
 “ that the Writer was put to poor Shifts,
 “ when he was forced to read us such false
 “ Ethics for a Reason. — They must
 “ be but ill read in human Nature, who
 “ can encourage such unworthy Usage of
 “ *one*, whose former Merit they acknow-
 “ ledge; such Liberties frequently return-
 “ ing, in a double Proportion, on the
 “ Heads of the Revilers.”

In this Manner were Mr. *Walpole* and his
 Adherents attack'd and defended upon the
 Resignation of their Places. As to the
 general Arguments on either Side, the
 same might have been used by the opposite
 Parties alternately, upon a Change of Situations.
 They only teach us, therefore, what *were* the
 Aspersions thrown on *one* Side, and how
 they were wiped off on the *other*; but give

us no Instruction concerning the true Motive of this Court Revolution, unless we can collect it from Facts stated by the *Accusers*, and not answered by the *Defendants*.

The chief Acculation is, That the Resigners took this Step at a particular Crisis, in order to *embarrass* Those whom they left in the Ministry, and *distress* the King's Affairs. This they are content with denying, without assigning any other particular Cause of their Conduct, and only assert in general, that a Minister has a *Right* to persist in his own Judgment against his Fellow-Servants; or even against his *Master*; in which latter Case he is to *resign* his Places. Are we not at liberty therefore to suppose, notwithstanding all they have said, That the Acculation was in a great Measure just, and that the Resigners met with a fresh Mortification to see public Credit supported, and the national *Business* go on uninterrupted, without *their* Assistance, which they thought to absolutely necessary in the System of *Government*? Might not the Opinion of the *King*, arising from his suppos'd Affection to his *Natal* *Soil*, bias

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the other Ministers? and might not the Resigners, presuming upon former Experience, persist in the contrary Sentiment, merely to try their own Power, and whether they could for the future carry all before them in his Majesty's Council? Was it not natural, the Passions of Mankind consider'd, (for in vain do they talk, on such an Occasion, of *Sedateness* of Temper) upon being disappointed in a Matter of such Consequence, to quit in Disgust, and thwart their Opponents, in order to render themselves more than ever necessary? Tho' it was four Years after before Mr. *Walpole* came again into Play, might not this too be a fresh Disappointment, as he might entertain Hopes of being immediately recall'd upon his own Terms? In a Word, as I believe the Charge to be stronger, in many Particulars, than the strict Truth required; so I cannot see any thing in the Answer that tends more than to *elude* and *slur* over the Question, without ever coming to the close Point, the specific Motive of this Resignation.

We may farther observe, in this Debate, that the true Ministerial Art is display'd on
both

both Sides, and the Mystery of Government kept up with great Solemnity. Mr. *Walpole*, tho' *out*, may be in again, and therefore he will not unfold the *State-Secret*, but rather let so much of the Imputation, as he cannot stave off by *general Assertions*, or evade by a Shew of *honest Reasoning*, remain sticking to his Character. A *political Contest* of this Nature must, I imagine, be somewhat like a *Theological Controversy* of the Ancient *Egyptian Priests*, which nobody could understand but themselves.

The Severity of the Charge exhibited against Mr. *Walpole*, at least implicitly (amounting to almost the worst of Crimes that a Minister can be guilty of in the Discharge of his Office) is not less remarkable than the Manner in which *He*, or his Apologist, denies that any Accusation has been brought against his Management, and calls upon the other Side to bring such an Accusation. One would think by this, and some other Instances of the same Nature, that *great Men*, who understand the *true Art of Government*, were all *secure* of one another; and however they might quarrel
among

among themselves for *Power*, were in no danger of having their *dark Doings* brought to light by their Successors in *Place*, who in their Turn must have the same Complaisance to expect from others.

May we not see here the Error of a popular Notion, that the Fortunes of a certain great Family have been made within about twenty Years past? Do we not see here *Pensions*, *Grants*, *Reversions*, and all the Means of growing rich scatter'd among them, even before their great Chieftain arose to his late sublime Character? He was no *Lucullus*, that without Experience took on him the Command of an Army; but a disciplin'd Veteran, who knew all the *Duties* and *Perquisites* of his Office, and who had served thro' all the inferior Ranks of the said Corps.

One more Observation occurs (I wonder it did not before, as it is sufficiently obvious) to strengthen the Opinion I have given, "That it was no peculiar Regard to any Law concerning the foreign Dominions of a British Sovereign, that occasion'd the great Man I am speaking of to resign in 1717." Because as his Character, according

according to his Friends, has been pretty uniform throughout Life, we should have certainly seen him, when he had more Influence, persist in that obstinate Attachment to the Love of his Country, previous to any private or foreign Interest whatsoever: A Virtue which I have never heard mentioned, among the many illustrious ones that have been ascribed to him by his Admirers.

The Title of the *Sinking-Fund* Bill, presented by Mr. *Walpole* on the Day of his Resignation, was as follows: *An Act for redeeming the Duties on Houses, and charging the same with a lesser Incumbrance; and for redeeming so much of the Fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, as relates to the present Exchequer Bills; and for circulating Exchequer Bills, at a less Charge to the Public; pursuant to several Powers of Redemption contain'd in former Acts of Parliament; and for continuing several Annual and other Payments*

I must do the Justice to say, that since this was written, the (supposed noble) Author of a Pamphlet, entitled *Miscellaneous Thoughts, &c.* affirms that Sir *R——W——* had this Virtue in a much greater Degree than his Successors in Power; which he endeavours to prove from the Number of foreign Troops taken last Year into *British* Pay.

out of the Residue of the said Aggregate
Funds. This Bill was in Pursuance of
certain Resolutions passed in the House,
through this Influence, on the 22d of
March; the inserting of which may serve
as a Key to all that I shall have Occasion
to say hereafter concerning the Sinking-
Fund.

The Commons resolved, "That all the
publick Funds redeemable by Law, that
did then exceed 5 per Cent. per Annum, be
redeem'd according to the respective Pro-
visos or Clauses of Redemption, contain'd
in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpose;
or with Consent of the Proprietors be con-
verted into an Interest or Annuity, not
exceeding 5 per Cent. per Annum, redeem-
able by Parliament: " That his Majesty be
enabled to borrow of any Person or Persons,
Bodies politic or corporate, such Sum or
Sums of Money, as should be requisite
to redeem the said redeemable Funds, at
any Rate not exceeding 5 per Cent. per An-
num, and to secure the same upon the Funds
so to be redeem'd. " That the Annuity of

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106,501 l.

106,501 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* * payable to the Governor and Company of the Bank of *England*, out of the House-money, by Virtue of several Acts of Parliament in that Behalf, for the principal Sum of 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ by them advanced, be redeem'd, or (by Consent of the said Governor and Company) converted into an Interest or Annuity, not to exceed 5 *per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament: "That so much of the Fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, † settled by an Act of Parliament in the first Year of his present Majesty (*George I.*) as is applicable to the Interest, Circulation, Exchanging, or Cancelling the present Exchequer-Bills, be also redeem'd: "That his Majesty be enabled to authorize the High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of the Treasury for the Time being, to treat

* Charged upon the Duties of Houses, or Windows, from the 1st of *August* 1710, for ever, for raising 1,500,000 *l.* by issuing Exchequer-Bills to that Value. The Bank, by an Act 5^o *Anne*, undertook to circulate these Bills, upon Consideration of 4 *l.* 10 *s.* *per Cent. per Annum*, and Exchequer Bills to be issued for the Interest 'till the Fund commences. The Bank to remain a Corporation 'till the Bills be redeem'd.

† By this Fund several Duties, Impositions, &c. were charged with certain Annual Payments.

treat and agree with any Person or Persons,
 Bodies politic or corporate, for circulating
 such a Number of Exchequer-Bills at a Rate
 not exceeding 4*l.* 10*s.* *per Cent. per Annum*,
 for Interest, Exchanging, and Circulation, as
 may be charged and secured upon that
 Part of the said Aggregate Fund, so to be re-
 deem'd: " That the Annuities of 600,000*l.*
 ‡ and 8,000*l.* *per Annum*, payable to the
 Governor and Company of Merchants of
Great-Britain trading to the *South-Sea*, be
 also redeem'd: " That the Annuities pay-
 able by an Act of Parliament of the 12th
 Year of *King William*, (of glorious Memo-
 ry) to certain Patentees therein named, their
 Heirs and Assigns, out of the weekly Sum
 of 3,700*l.* charg'd on the Excise, be also
 redeemed: " That the several Terms of
 Years remaining in the Duties appropriated
 of 11*th* of *George* 2^d by

‡ These Payments to the *South-Sea* Company were, the
 600,000*l.* for Interest, at 6 *per Cent.* and 8,000*l.* for Ma-
 nagement of the Sum of 10,000,000*l.*: The Company to
 continue for ever, but the Annual Sum to cease upon a
 Year's Notice after the 25th of *December*, 1716, repaying
 what shall then be due to the Company.

by the two Lottery Acts, * made and passed in the 9th Year of her late Majesty *Queen Anne*, (of blessed Memory) and by the two Lottery * Acts made and passed in the 10th Year of her said Majesty's Reign, be made perpetual: " That the said Duties, comprehended in the said four Lottery Acts, be made one general Fund for the future: " That the Proprietors of the Orders grounded on the said Lottery Acts, do, within a limited Time, make their Elections, either to accept Annuities after the Rate of *5 per Cent. per Annum* redeemable by Parliament, out of such general Fund, or be paid so much as remains due to them, on their Orders respectively: " That in all Cases, where the Proprietors shall chuse to have their Principal, the *5 l. per Cent. per Annum*, saved thereby, be made another Fund, towards answering such Sums of Money, as shall be advanced

* The Duties of 3 s. and 2 s. a Chaldron on Coals, the additional Duty on Windows, a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, the additional Duties on Tallow and Wax Candles, 700 l. a Week out of the Post Office, the Duties on Leather, Linnen, Stuffs, &c. several Sorts of Stamps, 1 s. a Pound on Coffee, and 2 s. a Pound on Tea, 20 *per Cent.* on Drugs, the Tax on Policies of Assurances, and on gilt Wire, are all made perpetual by the Clause pursuant to this Resolution.

advanced (towards discharging the said Principals) by Loans or other Securities, as shall be thought proper: " That his Majesty be enabled to give Power for receiving voluntary Subscriptions from any Person or Persons, entitled to any Annuities issuing out of the Publick Funds, for the Residue of the respective Terms of 99, 96, 89 or 32 Years, formerly purchased therein (not being subject to Redemption) who shall be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual Annuities redeemable by Parliament, and to allow for the remaining Terms in the said Annuities, which were purchased for 99, 96, or 89 Years, (at the Election of the respective Subscribers) either so much as the said Annuities shall amount to at 19 Years Purchase, to be made good by new Annuities at *4 l. per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament; or 17 Years and a half Purchase, to be made good by new Annuities at *5 l. per Cent. per Annum*, to be redeemable in like Manner; and to allow for the remaining Terms in the said Annuities, which were purchased for 32 Years (at the Election of the respective Subscribers)

scribers) either so much as the said Annuities shall amount to at 14 Years and a half Purchase, to be made good by new Annuities at 4*l. per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament, or 13 Years and a half Purchase, to be made good by new Annuities of 5*l. per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable in like Manner; and that the said new Annuities shall be settled and secured accordingly: "That all Savings that shall arise upon any of the present Funds, by the proposed Redemptions or Reductions, be reserved and applied, * after all Discharges that may happen, or any of the said Funds are made good, towards discharging and reducing the national Debt: And "That all the said Duties now in being, or to be continued, shall immediately cease and determine, after the said national Debt, and all Interest due thereupon, is discharg'd and paid off.

When

* The Income of the several Funds, according to an Estimate delivered in on this Occasion by the Earl of Halifax, Auditor of the Receipt at the Exchequer, amounted to 3,118,448*l. os. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per Annum*; and the national Debt, at that Time, was 46,603,100*l. 11*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.* Might it not reasonably have been expected, that in a Course of 25 Years this Sum would have been considerably reduced?

When Mr. *Walpole* presented his Bill, pursuant to these Resolutions, it was observed, that he gave the House a Hint of his having resign'd his Places, by saying, That he now presented that Bill as a Country Gentleman; but hoped it would not fare the worse for having *two Fathers*, and that his Successor would take care to bring it to Perfection. The calling himself thus the Father of a Project, which hath since been so often employ'd to other Purposes than was at first declared, hath given room to think that this Gentleman had farther Views in it than were then suspected. At least this, and the Declarations he made that the Sinking-Fund should be *sacred* and *inviolable*, have almost annually since given his Enemies a Handle both for Satire and Ridicule, which upon the Principles of plain Reason were but too well grounded.

It was not till the 14th of *May* that this famous Bill, thought by many to this Day the most glorious Production of its noble Parent, was read a second Time, and re-ferr'd to a Committee of the whole House. On the 20th the House resolved itself into

the said Committee, when Mr. Stanhope, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, laid before them the respective Proposals of the *South-Sea* Company and of the Bank of *England*, for advancing Money to the Government to redeem the several Funds before specified. The *South-Sea* Company offered to advance two Millions more, which would make their whole Loan amount to twelve, at the same Interest of 608,000 *l.* per Annum. The Bank proposed two Millions and a half, at the like Interest of 5 per Cent. per Ann. and accepted of the other Conditions resulting from the Resolutions of the House. A warm and long Debate ensued, in which Mr. *Walpole* raised Objections against both Proposals, especially against that of the *South-Sea* Company; and many were for not accepting either, but dropping the Matter till another Session. However, at last, the proper Bills were brought in upon both, and on the 15th of July his Majesty gave the Royal Assent, among others, to *An Act for redeeming several Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and for securing to*
them

them new Funds and Allowances by Parliament; and for obliging them to advance such further Sums, not exceeding 2,500,000 l. at 5 per Cent. as shall be found necessary to be employ'd in lessening the national Debts and Incumbrances, and for continuing certain Provisions formerly made for the Expences of his Majesty's civil Government, and for Payment of Annuities formerly purchased at 5 per Cent. and for other Purposes in this Act mention'd: And, An Act for redeeming the yearly Fund of the South-Sea Company, (being after the Rate of 6 per Cent. per Annum) and settling on the said Company a yearly Fund, after the Rate of 5 per Cent. per Annum redeemable by Parliament, and to raise for an Annuity or Annuities of 5 per Cent. per Annum any Sum not exceeding 2,000,000 l. to be employ'd in lessening the national Debts and Incumbrances, and for making the said new yearly Fund and Annuities to be hereafter redeemable in the Time and Manner thereby prescribed: And likewise, An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues, which were settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders made forth on
four

four Lottery Acts; and for the redeeming certain Annuities payable in Order out of the general Excise, according to a former Act in that Behalf; and for establishing a general yearly Fund, not only for the future Payment of Annuities at several Rates, to be payable and transferable at the Bank of England, and redeemable by Parliament, but also to raise Monies for such Proprietors of the said Order, as shall chuse to be paid the Principal and a Year's Interest in ready Money; and for making good such other Deficiencies and Payments as in this Act are mention'd, and for taking off the Duties on Linseed imported, and British Linnen exported.— These three Acts compleated that darling Scheme, from which so much Benefit was promised to the Public.

That Benefit had undoubtedly been real, and the Merit of contriving and conducting an Affair of such Importance had appear'd as great at this Day, as it was then represented by the Friends of the seceeding Minister, if no unexpected Application had been made of the vast Sums accruing from it: But while it is no longer esteem'd sacred
and

and *inviolable*, and nothing but the Consent of a thin House of Commons, on one of the last Days of a Session, is requisite to alienate the Whole, or any Part of these Sums to the Services of the present Year, it must be allow'd to put a dangerous Power in the Hands of any Minister, who prefers the Pursuit of his own sinister Views to the Good of his Country. If we believe a late political Writer, who longer than any other I know of engaged our Attention, we shall have but a bad Idea of the *Father* of this Fund, when we view him in the Character of a *Nurse*.

“ The whole Produce of the *Sinking-Fund*, (*says the Author of the Craftsman*)
 “ has been taken these two last Years for
 “ the current Service, in Times of Peace;
 “ and it appears that the most substantial
 “ Part of it, which arose from the several
 “ Reductions of Interest, is mortgaged out;
 “ that it consists at present of little more than
 “ the Increase of Duties, since the last
 “ War; and that great Part of it will pro-
 “ bably fall off again, by engaging in ano-
 “ ther: So that the Payment of the public
 “ Debts

“ Debts hath not only been delayed, contrary to the original Intention of the Sinking-Fund, and the strictest Appropriations of former Parliaments; but even the Sinking-Fund itself will raise no considerable Sums towards the Support of a War, should it be thought proper to apply it to that Service*.” But I shall have Occasion more than once, before I have done, to give particular Instances of the Perversion of this *sacred Deposit*, which I am afraid will but too much verify what is here advanced.

A remarkable Contest happened, during the Course of this Debate, between Mr. *Walpole* and his Successor in Place, Mr. *Stanhope*. The latter, as still in the Service of the Crown, was for accepting the Proposals of the Communities; against which both the Tories and the newly discontented Whigs argued with all their Eloquence. Mr. *Pulteney* had said, “ That he did not know what private Advantage some Persons might have, in accepting the Proposal of the

* See the *Craftsman* of June 21, 1735.

the *South-Sea* Company; but that, in his Opinion, no Term of Years * ought to be granted, or, at most, not above three Years." Whereupon Mr. *Stanhope*, being sensible that both the Opposition made to the Company's Proposals, and the Reflections on private Advantage, were chiefly levelled at him, stood up in his own Vindication. He ingenuously owned "his Incapacity for the Affairs of the Treasury, † which were so remote from his Studies and Inclinations, that he would fain have kept the Employment he had before, which was both more easy and more profitable to him; but that he thought it his Duty to obey the King's Commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by Application, Honesty and Disinterestedness, what he wanted in Abilities and Experience: That he would content himself with the Salary and lawful Perquisites

* The Bank desired to have the Exchequer Bills not redeemable till after Seven Years.

† Mr. *Stanhope* did not hold his Places in the Treasury longer than till *March* the next Year, when he resumed the Secretaryship, and the Earl of *Sunderland*, before Secretary, was made first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Mr. *Aislaby* Chancellor of the Exchequer.

of his Office; and, tho' he had quitted a better Place, he would not quarter himself upon any-body to make it up: That he had no Brothers, nor other Relations, to provide for; and that upon his first entering into the Treasury, he had made a standing Order against the late Practice of granting Reversions of Places."

Mr. *Walpole*, who could not but see himself severely reflected on in this Speech, replied, contrary to his usual Custom, with great Warmth; "accused Mr. *Stanbope*, in the first Place, of Breach of Friendship, and betraying private Conversation; and frankly owned, that while he was in Employment, he had endeavour'd to serve his Friends and Relations; than which, in his Opinion, nothing was more reasonable, or more just: That as to granting Reversions, he was willing to acquaint the House with the Meaning of it: That he had no Objection against the *German* Ministers, whom his Majesty had brought with him from *Hanover*, and who, as far as he had observed, had all along behaved themselves like Men of Honour; but that there was a mean Fellow,

Fellow, of what Nation he could not tell, who took upon him to dispose of Employments: That *this Man* having obtained the Grant of a Reversion, which he designed for his Son, he (Mr. *Walpole*) thought it too good for him, and therefore kept it for his own Son: That thereupon this Foreigner was so saucy, as to demand of him the Sum of 2,500 £ under Pretence, that he had been offer'd so much for the said Reversion; but that he was wiser than to comply with his Demand: And that one of the chief Reasons that made him resign his Places, was, because he could not connive at some Things that were carrying on."

Whether this *mean Fellow*, of what Nation he knew not, was meant of Mr. *Stanhope* himself, who had lived abroad most of his Time in the Service of the Crown, and, if I am not mistaken, was born out of this Kingdom, I shall not pretend to aver, without some better Authority than I have now before me. But by the Acrimony that followed on both Sides, it should seem that nothing less was understood. We have not, however, any more of their Speeches preserved; and are only

only told in general, that Mr. *Stanhope* answered, Mr. *Walpole* replied, and that some hard Expressions escaped them in the Heat of the Dispute. But a Fragment of what was said by Mr. *Hungerford*, who took them up at these Indecencies, may inform us in what Light both these Ministers shew'd themselves to the House, and save the Trouble of a Comment on what either of them happen'd to let slip.

"I am sorry, said that eminent Lawyer, "to see these two great Men fall foul on "one another: However, in my Opinion, "we must still look upon them as Patriots, "and Fathers of their Country; and since "they have, by Mischance, discover'd their "Nakedness, we ought, according to the "Custom of the *East*, as the Scripture tells "us, to cover it, by turning our Backs "upon them." He added, "That this unlucky Accident had, however, produced some Good, in that it had revealed a Piece of Secret History, the scandalous Practice of selling Places and Reversions; and therefore moved, that the honourable Person, who made the Discovery, might be call'd upon

who

to

to name the Person." As no body seconded this Motion, and Sir *Joseph Jekyl* brought back the Attention of the Assembly to the Business under Consideration, the Quarrel drop'd till the Committee broke up: And then, Mr. Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mr. *Boscawen* acted the Part of a Mediator between his two Friends, by saying, "That 'twas melancholy to see any Difference should happen between those two worthy Members, unbecoming their own Characters, and the Dignity of that Assembly; but that it would be still a greater Misfortune if they should go out with any Resentment: And therefore he moved, that the House would lay their Commands upon them, that no farther Notice be taken of what had passed." Mr. *Methuen* seconded this Motion, which being unanimously applauded, the Speaker immediately put his Office in Execution.—Mr. *Stanhope* was soon after removed to the House of Peers, with the Dignity of a Viscount, to which was afterwards added that of Earl.

Among the most violent Opposers of Mr. *Walpole* at this Time, was Mr. (afterwards

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Lord)

Lord, *Lechmere*, who animadverted severely on those Gentlemen that had resign'd their Places, as if they intended to distress the King's Affairs. Mr. *Walpole*, in his own Vindication, said, "That he never before heard a Man found Fault with, for laying down one of the most profitable Employments in the Kingdom: That, for his own Part, if he would have comply'd with some Measures, it had not been in the Power of any of the present Ministers to remove him; but that he had Reasons for resigning his Employments, with which he had acquainted his Majesty, and might, perhaps, in a proper Time, declare them to the House. In the mean Time the Tenor of his Conduct should shew, that he never intended to make the King uneasy, or embarrass his Affairs." He was indeed at present as good as his Word in this, having readily come into the Supplies of the Year: But seem'd so much gone over to the other Party, on many Occasions, that it was hard to understand his Drift. And in the Trial of the Earl of *Oxford*, which came on the same Year, he behaved as if he thought Impunity

nity the Prerogative of all who had ever been at the Head of a Ministry. A Maxim that should not easily be admitted by a *British* Representative, whomsoever the contrary may happen to affect.

The End of the Year 1717 produced an Event, which could not but give Concern to all who were firmly attached to the Protestant Succession. A Breach between the Sovereign and the Heir apparent to the Crown, can hardly be attended with any better Consequences than the keeping alive of Party Distinctions; nor serve any other Public Purpose than the giving Credit to the *Discontented*, when perhaps the Cause of their Discontent is far from being a national Case, and may arise only from Ambition or Revenge; unless we hold it necessary that *Hope* alone should counterbalance every present Grievance, and that we should still expect from the Son what we humbly pray for under the Father. It could not be thought however but that Mr. *Walpole*, long used to be the Head of a Party, should join those who were contrary to a Ministry he had abandon'd. A Man of his *Sagacity*

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may

may always avail himself of *Numbers*, and, upon a Coalition, get himself lifted upon their Shoulders, above the whole Body, while he takes no other Notice of those who have raised him, than just as they may afterwards serve his own Purpose.

In the next Session of Parliament, upon every Occasion, Mr. *Walpole* appeared entirely a *Country Gentleman*, and a Patriot, if opposing whatever comes from the Ministry gives a Right to those Denominations. Upon a Motion in the House for continuing the Army, he made a Speech that lasted above an Hour, wherein, besides the common Topic of the Danger of a Standing Army in a free Nation, he insisted on four principal Points: I. "That whereas they were given to understand, that the Army was reduced to 16,000 and odd Men, it still consisted of above 18,000, which was one third more than the Land-Forces in *Great-Britain* amounted to formerly in Time of Peace. II. "That there was no due Proportion observed, either between the Numbers of Horse, Dragoons and Foot, or between the Number of Officers and Soldiers

diers that were kept standing; insomuch that of about 11,000 £. which the Pay of a reduced Regiment of Foot amounts to, near 7000 £ goes towards the Pay of the Officers, and 4000 £. only to the private Soldiers. III. " That the keeping up so great a Number of Officers was, in Effect, the maintaining of an Army almost double of what was intended, since the Soldiers that were wanting to compleat the Companies and Regiments might be raised with a Drum in twice four and twenty Hours. IV. " That the Pay of the General Officers, which amounted to above 20,000 £, was an Expence altogether needless, and unprecedented in Time of Peace." It is needless to recite what was said in Answer by Mr. Craggs, then Secretary of War; because the Arguments on both Sides, in Debates of this Nature, have been worn thread-bare almost every Year. But scarce would it have been believed that Mr. *Walpole*, who when *in* has ever been such an Advocate for large Standing-Armies, and such a dexterous Multiplier of Places Civil and Military, could, when *out*, have brought all the Ar-

guments of a *Wyndham* or a *Skippen* against both, if the very Heads of his Speech had not been quoted.

Yet it should seem, at the same Time, that he was for maintaining due Respect to the Royal Person: For when Mr. *Skippen*, in this Debate, had so far overshot himself in his Expressions, as to say, "*It was a great Misfortune, that the King was a Stranger to our Language and Constitution*," upon a Motion of Mr. *Lechmere*, "That these Words were a scandalous Invective against the King's Person and Government, and that the Member who spoke them should be sent to the *Tower*," Mr. *Walpole* was pleased to say, "That if the Words in Question were spoken by the Member on whom they were charged, the *Tower* was too light a Punishment for his Rashness;" but added, "That as what he said in the Heat of the Debate might be misunderstood, he was for allowing him the Liberty of explaining himself." Neither Mr. *Walpole*, however, nor the other Gentlemen who spoke in Mr. *Skippen's* Favour, could ward off the Censure;

sure; the Party accused owning the Charge, and maintaining what he had advanced.

The Question having been carry'd against Mr. *Walpole's* Party for 16,000 Men instead of 12,000, there arose a second Debate upon reading the Resolution of the House concerning the Money for their Support, which the Ministry fix'd at 681,618 £. Mr. *Walpole*, who was for recommitting this Resolution, urged, among other Things, "That by the Method that had been followed in the Reduction of the Army, the Nation was put to an extraordinary and needless Charge:" Which he endeavour'd to prove, by entering into the Particulars of the Regiments that were kept standing; shewing, as before, the Disproportion between the Foot, and the Horse and Dragoons, which last were most grievous and oppressive to the Country; and suggesting, that by reducing the Army in another Manner, the full Number of Land Forces already voted might be kept up, and yet near 100,000 £ be saved to the Nation; besides the Pay of the General Officers, which, he doubted not, all Gentlemen would readily acknowledge,

with him, to be an unnecessary Expence. This Overture was listen'd to with much Attention by the far greatest Part of the Assembly, and even by some of the staunchest Friends to the Royal Family, Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, in particular, being desirous to know what Mr. *Walpole* had to propose, to save so considerable a Sum to the Nation, declared his Opinion for recommitting the said Resolution, which was carry'd without dividing; as was also the Resolution concerning the Money for Half-pay of reduced Officers. Upon which the Commons, three Days after, being resolved again into a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, and several other Gentlemen, argued against the Amendment of these Resolutions; and Mr. *Walpole*, among others, represented on the opposite Side, " That the best Way for the Commons of *Great-Britain* to acknowledge his Majesty's most Gracious Intentions for the Good of his Subjects, was to point out to him the Means of rendering those good Intentions effectual; That this might be done by disbanding or dismounting eight or nine Regiments of Dragoons, whereby the Country

Country would be eased of a great Burden and Oppression; and that by this and some other Reductions (of which he made mention) a considerable Sum of Money might be saved to the Nation, as well as by taking off the Pay of General Officers, and other useless Contingencies."

Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Sir *William Wyndham*, and others, having back'd these Arguments, the Courtiers endeavour'd to shew, either that the Reductions proposed were impracticable, or would not answer the End intended thereby: But some General Officers having gallantly said, " That for their own Parts, if their having no Pay would any Way contribute to make the Nation easy, they readily acquiesc'd;" they were taken at their Words, and 650,000 £ only, instead of 681,618, was granted for defraying the Charge of Guards and Garrisons for the Year 1718. Thus Mr. *Walpole*, when a Country Gentleman, could prevail against the Ministry in so tender an Article as that of the Supplies; what no Country Gentleman could do against him while he was Minister. Tho' the same Arguments

guments have been turned upon him over and over; some *secret Magick*, of which he seems to have been a perfect Master, prevented their having the same Effect.

Some Time after, a Motion was made by Mr. *Aislabie*, for lowering the Value of the Gold Species, in order to prevent the Exportation of Silver; which Motion was back'd by Mr. *Caswall*. As Mr. *Walpole* was unapprised of the Design, he gave his Opinion at first, "That this was a Matter of such Importance, that it ought to be well weigh'd and consider'd, before the House came to any Resolution thereupon". But it appearing, that the monied Men came into it, and that the Bank offered, that very Day, to lend a considerable Sum of Money to the Government, upon the borrowing Clause in the Land-Tax Bill; which Loan, it was presumed, wou'd be made in Guineas at the current Value; Mr. *Walpole* and his Friends consented, and the proper Resolutions pass'd in the next Committee of the whole House.

On the 22d of *January*, 1718, in a Committee of the whole House upon the Supplies,

Supplies, Mr. *Walpole* objected against allowing half Pay *here* to the Officers of 13 Regiments lately reduced in *Ireland*. Mr. *Craggs*, from the Nature of his Office, took upon him to answer; and Mr. *Walpole*, in reply, suggested that Mr. *Craggs* had not been long in Business. The Secretary at War, resenting this, own'd, "That tho' he could not boast so much Experience as a certain Gentleman (meaning Mr. *Walpole*;) yet this he was sure of, that tho' a Novice, he would ten Years hence be of the same Opinion he was at present, and not imitate *them*, who changed theirs, as they were in or out of Place." This severe Thrust the other endeavour'd to parry, by appealing to the Assembly, "Whether, while he had the Honour to be in Employment, he had not declared his Opinion as freely as he did at present, particularly in Relation to the Matter now before them." Several Gentlemen speaking on his Side, and for lessening the Sum of 130,361 £, which the Courtiers demanded for the Pay of reduced Officers, the Country Party seem'd again to triumph, and the Committee broke up without

without coming to any Resolution, tho' the Ministry would have accepted 115,000 £ only. And at the next Sitting Mr. *Walpole* prevail'd so far, that not only the Officers of the 13 *Irish* Regiments, but the Chaplains unprovided for, several Warrant Officers, and all Minors under 16 Years of Age, were struck off the List of Half-pay Officers. And as the Ministry, for the Residue, still demanded 115,000 £, and the Tories were for allowing only 80,000, upon Mr. *Walpole's* Motion a Medium was agreed on, and 94,000 £ granted without Division. This Saving, and that upon the Article of General Officers, amounted together to 67,979 £ for the Year 1718. And as this was all procured by the same Gentleman, no wonder it ingratiated him with the People. The same excellent OEconomy, when he had himself the Management of public Money, and the Direction of the Estimates to be laid before the House, would in a few Years have made him the Idol of his Nation, instead of becoming the Subject of their Complaints, and

growing

growing annually more and more the Object of their Indignation.

Mr. *Walpole* was not so successful on the 4th of *February*, when the House, in a grand Committee, sat upon the Bill for regulating the Forces to be continued in his Majesty's Service, and for the Payment of the said Forces, and their Quarters, and for punishing Mutiny and Desertion. He then seconded Mr. *Hutchinson*, who excepted against the Clause empowering Court-Martials to punish Mutiny and Desertion with Death; urging, "That a Court-Martial was never allowed in *England* in Time of Peace, as being inconsistent with the Rights and Liberties of a free People." He maintain'd his Point with such Energy against Mr. *Cragg*, that the Courtiers look'd upon the Success of this Affair as very doubtful. But Mr. *Lechmere* observing, after several Hours Debate, "That a Court-Martial has the same Power with regard to Soldiers, as the Court of Admiralty has with regard to Seamen; and that the latter, in Time of Peace, extends to Life and Death;" the Balance turn'd, upon putting the Question,

Eighteen

Eighteen in Favour of the Clause without Amendment. Mr. *Walpole*, in the Heat of his Dispute with the Secretary of War, let fall some sharp Reflections, ^{which I to this} A remarkable Instance of his great Sway in the House appear'd this Session, in the Case of Mr. *Jackfon*, who had been Resident in Sweden. That Gentleman attending the House, to give in several Memorials by him presented to the Regency of Sweden, in answer to a Question asked him by Mr. *Craggs*, let fall some Expressions on a Set of Men, that were deem'd a Reflection on the Tories. Hereupon several Members cried out *Custody, Custody*; and Mr. *Jackfon*, being permitted to explain himself, and declaring that he meant the Merchants, who presented unreasonable Petitions, the Cry was redoubled, and would in all Probability have prevailed, if Mr. *Walpole* had not suggested, That that Gentleman had liv'd so long in a Despotical Government, where Petitions and Representations of that Nature are accounted capital Crimes, that he had forgot the Rights and Privileges of his Countrymen, and therefore he moved,

" That

"That his unguarded Expressions might be excused." Which nobody opposing, Mr. Jackson had Liberty to withdraw.

Sir George Byng's attacking the *Spanish* Fleet, on the Coast of *Sicily*, without any previous Declaration of War, was loudly complain'd of at *Madrid*, as an Infringement of the Law of Nations, and even blamed by Numbers at home. Mr. *Walpole*, in the ensuing Session of Parliament, was one of these, declaring himself thus early, what he has often been since esteem'd, an Advocate for the King of *Spain* against his Country. The Ministers, to give some Sanction to the Step that had been taken, acquainted the House, in his Majesty's Name, that his Majesty having found all his Endeavours, to procure Redress from the King of *Spain*, ineffectual, had perceived it necessary to declare War against that Crown. In Answer to which an Address being mov'd for, "to return his Majesty Thanks for having communicated to them his Resolution, and to declare their Readiness to support him in the War with Vigour," a warm Debate ensued, in which

Mr.

Mr. *Walpole* took Part against the Courtiers, and declaim'd upon the Injustice of Sir *George Byng's* Attack. At the same Time his Brother *Horatio*, since so famous for Alliance-making, made a long Speech against the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance, between their Imperial, Most Christian, and Britannic Majesties, and the States-General, particularly as to the Disposition of *Sicily* in Favour of the Emperor, which he said was a Breach in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. If so, the suffering it to revert, some Years after, to the Infant *Don Carlos*, must be look'd upon, according to him, as an Act of Justice; unless we think every Thing now said, either by his Brother or him, to have been in the Spirit of Opposition.

A Proposal from the *South-Sea Company*, for advancing 700,000*l.* having been accepted by the House on the 12th of *February*, 1719, some of the Members were for applying it towards the present and growing Necessities of the Government. But in a grand Committee on Ways and Means two Days after, Mr. *Walpole*, in Favour of his darling *Sinking-Fund*, insisted, that

that the Public Debts, already incurred, should in the first Place be taken care of. Whereupon a Resolution was taken, and a Bill afterwards brought in, directing the Application of this Money agreeably to his Sentiments. It is indeed plain from all Transactions of *Money-Affairs*, that the House now relied more upon his Judgment, than that of any other Member whatsoever.

It was in this Session, in the Month of *March*, that the famous *Peerage-Bill* was brought into the House of Lords, and push'd on with great Vehemence by some Peers of both Parties; among whom were the Earl of *Sunderland* and Earl *Stanhope* of the Courtiers. It was to enact, "That in lieu of the sixteen Elective Peers, to sit in that House on the Part of *Scotland*, twenty-five Peers, to be declared by his Majesty, should have Hereditary Seats in Parliament;" with several Restrictions concerning their Appointment and Succession: And with regard to the *English* Peers, "That their Number should not be enlarged, without Prece-

dent Right, beyond six above what they were at present, the Princes of the Blood always excepted." This Bill had been twice read, and was ordered to be engross'd; but upon the Day appointed for the last Reading, a noble Lord observed, "That as the Design of it had been so misrepresented and misunderstood, that it was like to meet with great Opposition in the other House, he thought it adviseable to let the Matter lie still, 'till a more proper Opportunity." Which being attended to, the third Reading was put off till the 28th of that Month, and so it was suffer'd to drop entirely.

This did not hinder the Duke of *Buckingham*, the next Session, from bringing it again into the House, when it passed after some Debate, and was sent down to the Commons. Upon a Motion made in their House, after the second Reading, for the Commitment of this Bill, a Debate ensued from One in the Afternoon 'till Nine at Night. Mr. *Walpole* was one of the principal Speakers against the Commitment, and endeavour'd to refute all that had been offer'd

fer'd in Favour of the Bill. His Arguments, therefore, will give some Idea of the whole Affair, which indeed was one of the most critical that could come before a *British* Senate.

Among other remarkable Particulars, he took Notice, That among the *Romans*, the wisest People on Earth, the Temple of *Fame* was plac'd behind the Temple of *Virtue*, to denote that there was no coming to the Former, without going thro' the Other. But that if this Bill pass'd into a Law, one of the most powerful Incentives to *Virtue* would be taken away, since there would be no coming to that Honour but thro' the Winding-Sheet of an old decrepid Lord, and the Grave of an extinct noble Family. That 'twas a Matter of high Surprise, that a Bill of this Nature should ever have been projected, or at least, promoted, by a Gentleman (Lord *Stanhope*) who not long ago sat among them; and who, having got into the House of Peers, would now shut up the Door after him. That this Bill would not only be a Discouragement to Vir-

' tue and Merit, but would also endanger
 ' our excellent Constitution. For as there
 ' was a due Balance between the three
 ' Branches of the Legislature, if any more
 ' Weight were thrown into any one of
 ' those Branches, it would destroy that
 ' Balance, and consequently subvert the
 ' whole Constitution. That the Peers were
 ' already possess'd of many valuable Privi-
 ' leges, and to give them more Power and
 ' Authority, by limiting their Number,
 ' would in Time bring back the Commons
 ' into the State of servile Dependency they
 ' were in, when they wore the Badges
 ' of the Lords. That he could not but
 ' wonder, that the Lords would send such
 ' a Bill to the Commons: For how could
 ' they expect that the Commons would
 ' give their Concurrence to so injurious a
 ' Law, by which they and their Posterity
 ' are to be excluded from the Peerage.
 ' And how would the Lords receive a
 ' Bill, by which it should be enacted, That
 ' a Baron should not be made a Viscount,
 ' nor a Viscount an Earl, and so on? That
 ' besides all this, that Part of the Bill
 ' which

which related to the Peerage of *Scotland*,
 would be a manifest Violation of the
 Act of Union, on the Part of *England*,
 and a dishonourable Breach of Trust in
 those who represented the *Scottish* Nobility.
 That such an Infringement of the Union
 would endanger the entire Dissolution of
 it, by disgusting so great a Number of
 the *Scottish* Peers, as should be excluded
 from sitting in the *British* Parliament.
 For as 'twas well known, that the Re-
 volution Settlement stood upon the Prin-
 ciple of a mutual Compact, if we should
 break first the Articles of Union, it would
 be natural for the *Scots* to think themselves
 thereby freed from all Allegiance. And
 as for what had been suggested, that the
 Election of the sixteen *Scottish* Peers was
 no less expensive to the Crown, than in-
 jurious to the Peerage of *Scotland*; it
 might be answered, that the making twenty-
 five Hereditary sitting *Scottish* Peers would
 still increase the Discontent of the electing
 Peers, who thereby would be cut off from
 a valuable Consideration for not being cho-
 sen. These Arguments had so much

Prevalence, that, notwithstanding all the Eloquence display'd on the other Side, the Bill was rejected by a Majority of 102, or 269 against 167.

On the first of *February*, 1720, when the two amended Proposals, from the *South-Sea-Company* and the Bank, for paying off the redeemable national Debts, amounting to 15,000,000 £, were taken into Consideration of a Committee of the whole House, Mr. *Walpole* was the chief Person who stood up for the Bank: But Mr. *Aislaby*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made it appear, that the Proposals of the *South-Sea-Company* were more advantageous to the Public. It was resolv'd therefore, that the Proposals of the *South-Sea-Company* be accepted: And this Resolution being reported to the House, a Bill was ordered and brought in accordingly, entitled, *An Act for enabling the South-Sea-Company to increase their present Capital Stock and Fund, by redeeming such public Debts and Incumbrances as are therein mentioned, and for raising Money to be applied for lessening several of the public Debts and Incumbrances, and*

for

for calling in the present Exchequer Bills remaining uncanceled, and for making forth new Bills in lieu thereof, to be circulated and exchanged upon Demand, at or near the Exchequer. This Contract, between the South-Sea-Company and the Parliament, was the Foundation of that iniquitous Scheme which took Place the next Summer, and which had well nigh ruin'd the Nation.

It was perceived early this Summer, that Mr. *Walpole* was coming over again to the Measures of the Court: For on the 6th of *May* he seconded a Motion of Mr. *Pelham*, for an Address of Thanks to his Majesty, 'for that his Majesty had condescended to desire the Advice of the House, upon a Matter of such Importance as the Assurance of Ships and Merchandize; and to acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness, in applying the Advantage arising from such Proposals, to the Use of his civil Government;' with other complaisant Particulars: And on the 4th of *June* following, he was again appointed Pay-Master General of the Forces, in the room of *Henry Earl of Lincoln*. Soon after several of his Friends appear'd

in the Lifts of Promotions, and it appear'd that he was coming into as high Credit as ever. This was as it were the Prelude to that vast Acquisition, and long Exercise of Power, which hath so distinguish'd him from other *British* Ministers of modern Times. But as I fix'd the Date of *that* to the Day of his Restoration to the Head of the Treasury, I must take Notice of some intervening Particulars before I conclude the Section; leaving, however, the History of the Bank-Contract, which was the Scheme whereon he rose, to be treated of in the next, where all the Particulars of it will be seen together.

At the Opening of the next Session, the Beginning of *December*, the House of Commons, before they presented their Address of Thanks, from a Hint in his Majesty's Speech, went upon the Affair of the national Credit, the Decay of which was justly ascribed to the *South-Sea* Project. Mr. Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, Lord Moleworth, and others, were for immediately probing this Affair, and carrying their Enquiries farther than the Managers, to those who

who were above, and should have overlook'd them. They were for adding to these Words in their Address, *for restoring and fixing public Credit*, the following, *as far as is consistent with the Honour of Parliament, the Interest of the Nation, and the Principles of Justice*: But Mr. Walpole, Mr. Secretary Cragg, and Mr. Solicitor-General Thompson represented, "That such a Restriction did but ill suit with an Address of Thanks, which, in their Opinion, ought to run in the usual Form, and answer in general Terms the several Heads of the Speech from the Throne: That as to the main Drift of that Clause, they thought it inconsistent with the Rules of Prudence, to begin the Session with *irritating Enquiries*: That if the City of London were on fire, they did not doubt but all wise Men would be for extinguishing the Flames, and preventing the Spreading of the Conflagration, before they enquired into the Incendiaries: That in like Manner, public Credit having received a most dangerous Wound, and being still in a bleeding Condition, they ought to apply a speedy Remedy to it, and

that

that afterwards they might enquire into the Cause of the present Calamity. Mr. *Walpole*, in particular, declared, That for his own Part, he had never approved the *South-Sea* Scheme, and was sensible it had done a great deal of Mischief: But since it could not be undone, he thought it the Duty of all good Men to give their helping Hand towards retrieving it: And that with this View he had already bestowed some Thoughts on a Proposal to restore public Credit; which, at the proper Time, he would submit to the Wisdom of that House. The Majority of the Assembly acquiesc'd in these last Reasons; so that the Question being put for inserting Mr. *Shippen's* Clause, it passed in the Negative. The Proposal here meant was the Engrafting Scheme, which soon after came to light.

That there might be no Doubt of Mr. *Walpole's* entire Conversion to the Court, we find him, before the End of the Year, pleading as strongly for the Number of Forces demanded by the War Office, as he had declaim'd pathetically against them

three Years before. This Number, indeed, was not so great now as in 1718. But then neither were the same Pretences existing for keeping them on foot; his Majesty having informed the Parliament in his Speech, that the Peace in the South wanted only the Form of a Congress, and that of the North was brought much nearer to a Conclusion, Mr. *Shippen*, taking Advantage of these Words in the Speech, upon the second Reading of the Resolutions of the House, represented, "That a general Peace being so near a Conclusion, Part of the Land Forces then on Foot might well be spared, and the saving Sum applied towards repairing the public Calamity (meaning the *South-Sea* Affair); and therefore he moved, that the Resolution which fixed the Number of Guards and Garrisons at 14,294 Men, might be recommitted." He was back'd by several Members; and Mr. *Walpole* was one of those, who, in answer, endeavour'd to shew, "That the Number of our Forces was so moderate, that it could hardly be less'n'd, even tho' a general Peace were concluded, without exposing the

the Nation either to foreign Insults or domestic Factions; and therefore it were highly imprudent to make any Reduction in the Army, before the Conclusion of the Peace: That on the other hand, the Sum that might be saved by disbanding 3 or 4000 Men, was very Inconsiderable, and ought not to come in Competition with the Advantage of being in a Posture of Defence; since nothing contributes more to the public Credit of a free Nation, than the being in a Condition not to fear any Thing, either at home or abroad. These Arguments prevail'd, and put the Negative on Mr. Shippen.

It is impossible to have read so far as this, without reflecting on the Inconsistencies of the greatest Characters, where Ambition, Avarice, Spleen, or any other violent Passion, is suffered to predominate. If we believe the best of these Men, for but a few Years together, we shall find ourselves running into Opinions absolutely contradictory; and that while we are blindly following our Leaders, they are pursuing only their own Interest;

Interest, to which they make their dearest Friends subservient. I beg Pardon for using this Expression, because, in Reality, there can be no *Friendship* in a Man of this Turn of Temper, unless it be cemented by mutual Advantage. Who can doubt but Mr. *Walpole* resign'd, in 1717, and induced his Adherents to resign, at a Time when he could not preside in all public Affairs, purely that he might be call'd in again at the Head of them, to more ample Power, when the Obstacles that then subsisted were removed? Who can doubt that his Opposition in the House, to Measures that he approved both before and after, was with no other View, than to make himself necessary to the Court, which he had Interest enough to embarrass? Nor do these Proceedings appear singular in him, if we turn our Eyes a little on what has happened since his last Resignation, and compare the Patriots of this Time Twelve-Month with the Courtiers and Placemen of To-day.

THE

S E C T. II.

The History of the Bank-Contract.

IT was my first Design, to have gone on regularly from Year to Year, with all the Transactions, foreign or domestic, political or pecuniary, that come properly within the Compass of this Work: But finding by what is already done (which, tho' but a Sort of Introduction, is run out to a considerable Length) that it will much better answer my Purpose to bring together Affairs of the same Nature, I shall for the future pursue that Method, and divide my Matter under the following *Heads*.
First, with regard to domestic Affairs: The Bank-Contract, Engrafting Schemes, and other Measures in Consequence of the *South-Sea Project*. Grants to the Civil-List, Votes of Credit, and Annual Provisions for the Current Service.

The

The Excise and other Schemes, reputed destructive of the People's Liberty, and subversive of the Constitution.

Undue Influence in Elections, and on the Elected, with other suspected Branches of Corruption.

Discouragement of Commerce, Industry, Art, Capacity, and Literature.

Vast Expences incur'd, without any visible Advantage to *Great-Britain*.

Secondly, with regard to Foreign Affairs:

Negotiations and Treaties previous to the first Rupture with *Spain*.

Transactions between *Spain* and us, from the Siege of *Gibraltar* to the last Convention.

Conduct of the War.

And *Thirdly*, as consequential of both these,

The History of the Opposition within Doors and without; The Secession; The Motion; The Defeat, and Resignation.

The Contract with the *South-Sea Company*, according to the original Design of Parliament, might doubtless have been of great Publick Benefit, if the Managers of it,

it, who were appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, had been faithful to their Trust. But the Power they possess'd was too great and the Prospect of a golden Harvest too open, for Men of a certain Character to preserve their Integrity, and forego their Interest in mere Tenderness to their Reputation. Sir John Bunt, a well known Projector, who under the Mask of rigid Sanctity had a most *capacious Conscience*, is said to have been the first Inventor of that ingenious Scheme for *picking the Pockets* of all the Nation. It is foreign to my Purpose to relate the Progress of this Iniquity, the Arts that were used to keep up the fictitious Value of *Stock*, and the Apprehensions that at last prevailed of the whole Community's becoming Bankrupt: Because it was not till the utmost Extremity that Mr. *Walpole* came into Play, and form'd that After-Scheme to revive the Spirits of the People, which is well known by the Name of the *Bank-Contrivance*. This Transaction, by the Enemies of the late Minister, has been charged among the greatest of his Ministerial Sins, and therefore should be related with

with some Accuracy: Which can be no otherwise so well done, as by giving the Substance of what was said in the Court and Country Papers upon this Subject, when it was fully debated in the Year 1735: And in order hereto, I must again turn back a few Months.

This Debate took its Rise from a Pamphlet then published, entitled, *Considerations on the public Funds*; the Author of which (supposed to be the great Man himself) undertook to give a History of the whole Affair. ' This Event, says he, happen'd in September, 1720. Sir R. — W. — was then no Minister, was in no Confidence with the Ministry, but was look'd on by them as no Promoter of their Scheme, and indeed had no Credit or Power at Court. He was Pay-master of the Army, and lived the greatest Part of the Summer in the Country, to avoid giving any Offence or Umbrage to those who had, with the South-Sea Directors, the Direction and Management of this great Engine of imaginary Credit and Riches.

K When

' When the first Appearance of the ge-
 ' neral Distress was seen, he was sent for,
 ' and his Advice was demanded to assist in
 ' saving a sinking Nation; and as he was
 ' then thought to have some Credit and
 ' Influence with the Bank, whose Assistance
 ' the *South-Sea* Projectors flatter'd them-
 ' selves might save their desperate Game,
 ' Sir R—W— was importuned to use his
 ' Credit with the Bank, to induce them to
 ' agree to a Proposal made by the *South-Sea-*
 ' *Company*, for circulating a Number of
 ' their Bonds.

' It must here be remember'd, that no-
 ' thing of this Kind arose from the Bank,
 ' or was at their Motion; and I have been
 ' told, that nothing but an Apprehension
 ' of the Resentment of the People, which
 ' they were loudly threaten'd with, could
 ' have prevailed upon the Bank to have
 ' treated at all with the *South-Sea-Company*,
 ' and to involve themselves in their Cala-
 ' mities.

' The first Expedient was, for the
 ' Bank to circulate Bonds of the *South-Sea-*
 ' *Company* to a certain Value, for a Time

to

to be agreed upon; and a Proposal to this Effect was, on the 16th of September, 1720, sent to the Bank by the Sub and Deputy Governors of the South-Sea-Company.

This not being relish'd immediately, it was proposed that there should be a Meeting of a Committee, consisting of five of each Company, at the Post-Master-General's House; where were present Lord President, Mr. Secretary Craggs, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Walpole, Esq; Mr. Craggs Post-Master-General, (on the Part of the Court); Sir John Fellows, Sub-governor, Charles Joy, Esq; Deputy-Governor, Sir Theodore Janssen, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Chester, of the South-Sea-Company; Mr. Hanger, Governor, Sir John Ward, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Peter Delme, and Sir Nathaniel Gould, of the Bank. This Meeting was on the 19th of September, 1720.

I have been told, that the Conference lasted for many Hours, with great Reluctance on the Part of the Bank; but pressed with so much Eagerness and Authority on

the other Side; that the Bank was prevail'd upon to yield.

It was then thought proper to reduce into Writing the Substance of what had been under Consideration, to serve as a Foundation of a future Agreement, to be made between the two Companies.

I have been told there was some little Dispute who shou'd write down or draw the Minute; but it being the general Desire of the Company that Mr. W—— should do it, in the Presence of the whole Meeting, he put down in Writing what has ever since been called the *Bank Contract*, little dreaming that he was then drawing an Article of Impeachment against himself, or that he was to be made responsible for any *South-Sea* Transaction of the Year 1720.

The Minute, commonly called the *Bank Contract*, which was in Mr. W——'s Hand-writing, was in the Words following:
 " That the Bank of *England* shall undertake to circulate three Millions of *South-Sea* Bonds for one Year, at a Premium to be agreed upon by the two Companies;
 " a Sub-

" a Subscription to be taken for enabling
 " the Bank to carry on the Circulation;
 " ——— *per Cent.* to be paid down by every
 " Subscriber, and ——— *per Cent.* upon every
 " Call at a Fortnight's Notice: The Con-
 " tract with the Subscribers to be made in
 " the Nature and Form with former Con-
 " tracts for circulating Exchequer-Bills, and
 " the Charges of Circulation to be borne by
 " the *South-Sea* Company. That in Confi-
 " deration of this Undertaking, the *South-*
 " *Sea* Company shall pay the 3,700,000 *l.*
 " to be paid to the Bank by Notice of
 " Parliament, in the *South-Sea* Stock, at
 " a Price to be agreed on betwixt the
 " two Companies."

" There were two other Paragraphs
 " wrote down at the same Time, and
 " both cross'd out and erased before the
 " Meeting broke up, and not at all re-
 " lating to this Question.

" This is all that was wrote by Sir R--
 " W——, at this or any other Time, re-
 " lating to this Affair; and I have been af-
 " fured, in the future Meetings upon this
 " Business, he was never once present.

' This Paper, which was called *the Bank-*
 ' *Contract*, has no Stile, Title, or Preamble
 ' to it, signifying what it imports: It is
 ' neither an Agreement or Contract, or Ar-
 ' ticles of Agreement: The essential Part,
 ' the *Premium* for circulating, and what
 ' was to be paid down for the Circulation,
 ' is left blank; and the most material Part
 ' of the Whole, which is at what Price
 ' the Bank was to take the *South-Sea* Stock
 ' for 3,700,000 £ was refer'd to a subse-
 ' quent Agreement, to be made between the
 ' two Companies. I beg then, that any
 ' Man would tell me, in what Sense this
 ' is to be called a Contract, or any Thing
 ' more than the first *Rough-Draught* or
 ' *Sketch* of a future Agreement, that was to
 ' be made, void of all Form, or any Man-
 ' ner of Obligation. It was only *thus*.

' On the 23d of *September*, 1720, at
 ' a Meeting of a Committee of the Di-
 ' rectors of the two Companies, a Propo-
 ' sal was made by one of the Directors of
 ' the *South-Sea* Company, that the 3,700,000 l.
 ' should be subscribed by the Bank into the
 ' Stock of the *South-Sea* Company; for
 ' which

which the Bank was to have such Shares as the Funds would produce, the Stock being valued at 400*l.* *per Cent.*

On the 24th of *September*, at a Court of Directors of the Bank, upon a Report made of the last Proposal made by the *South-Sea* Company, it was agreed to by the Court of Directors of the Bank. This Agreement was the same Day communicated, by a Director of the Bank, to the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company.

But on the 10th of *November* following, the Governor of the Bank reported from the Committee appointed to treat with the *South-Sea* Company, that the Transactions between the Bank and the said Company had been laid before Council, on Behalf of the Bank; and that the said Company pressing for an Answer of what had been done therein, the Governor of the Bank had acquainted the Deputy-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, that the said Company did not think fit, for the present, to proceed farther in that

‘ Affair, and had delivered to him in Writing the following Answer :

“ When the Proposition was offered by
 “ the Lords, at a Meeting of the Committees
 “ of both Companies, as a suitable Expedient
 “ for the Support of Public Credit, the
 “ Court of Directors of the Bank shew’d
 “ their Readiness to join in any Measure
 “ that might tend to the Publick Service,
 “ But some Difficulties appearing to the
 “ Committee of the Bank, they have consulted with Council, and are advis’d,
 “ that considering the Nature of this Transaction, it will not be safe to proceed on
 “ the said Proposition without Consent of
 “ Parliament. However, they think it
 “ reasonable, that, in the mean Time, the
 “ Committee of the *South-Sea* should give
 “ the Committee of the Bank some Account of their Estate, for the Satisfaction
 “ of their Principals.”

‘ On *November* 18th a Paper was sent
 ‘ to the Bank, from the Lords of the Treasury, about these Difficulties; and the
 “ Bank gave Answer, that they could not
 ‘ better

‘ better explain themselves than they had done.

‘ Here the Treasury take the Affair into their Hands; but remember Mr. *Walpole* was not of * that Treasury, nor any Adviser or Confident in their Measures: And this is all that appears of the Transactions between the two Companies, as far as they have come to my Knowledge.

‘ In a few Words, the Bank was prevailed upon to consent to what they proved not able to perform, to what they were under no *Obligation* to perform, and to what, if they had perform'd, thousands of innocent Persons, who had trusted them with their Properties, would have been involved in their Ruin. The *South-Sea* Company had no Power to compel them, and so the Matter finally dropt. This is the History of the famous Bank-Contract.’

The Ministerial Advocates triumphed in this Performance, and called upon the Patriots for an Answer : Nay, the right honourable Author himself, in the very Work,

files

* Lord *Sunderland* was first Commissioner, and Mr. *Aislabie* Chancellor of the Exchequer.

stiles it *A Defence of two Kings and two Parliaments*. This Challenge drew an immediate Declaration from the Author of the *Craftsman*, that an Answer was preparing; which Answer was accordingly published, under the Title of, *The Case of the Sinking-Fund*; and surnamed, *A Defence of the Liberties and Properties of Great-Britain*. In this Pamphlet was inserted a Copy of the Contract itself, as drawn out at large on the 23d of *September*; after which the following Queries appeared in the *Craftsman*.

I. Whether the honourable Gentleman concerned in this Dispute, was not at a Meeting of a Committee of the Directors of the Bank of England, and a Committee of the Directors of the *South-Sea Company*, on *Friday, September the 23d, 1720*?

II. Whether he did not then draw up the Contract, published in the *Case of the Sinking-Fund*, between the two Companies?

It was immediately conjectured, that some other Hand than Mr. *A——*st, the
reputed

reputed Author of the *Craftsman*, was going to take up the Cudgels, and to prove the real Draught and Execution of the Contract upon Sir R.—W.— Nor was it long before the Public were confirmed in this Opinion; and many believed, (tho this was afterwards denied) that the Querist was no less a Man than Mr. *Ast—bie* himself, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1720, when, upon the Publication of a shuffling evasive Answer in the *Daily Gazetteer*, this Paragraph, among others, made its Way thro' the same Vehicle as the Queries.

101 I am well assured there is not only such
 ' a genuine Paper (as the original Bank
 ' Contract) now in being; which several
 ' Gentlemen, well acquainted with the
 ' Hand, have already seen; but that, on
 ' Enquiry of the Parties present at these
 ' Proceedings, it will be found that the
 ' Honourable Gentleman also was at the
 ' Meeting of the 23d: And that he not
 ' only drew the Paper imputed to him,
 ' but that he made two Copies from it in
 ' his own Hand-writing, one for each
 ' Company. And I have heard it whisper'd,
 ' that

‘ that it cost him some Trouble to get up
 ‘ these. But, it seems, he forgot the Ori-
 ‘ ginal, or might possibly think it was lost
 ‘ after such a Distance of Time, and a Mul-
 ‘ titude of other Affairs. This seems to
 ‘ have been the fatal Mistake, and what
 ‘ drew him into such an awkward Dilemma.’

Every one must remember, how the
 Attention of the Town was fix’d on this
 Occasion; and how much the *Gazetteer*
 increased in Vogue during this Dispute:
 For since the Hand of a former Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer was thought vi-
 sible in the *Country Journal*, it was not
 doubted but that of a *present* wou’d appear
 in the *Court Advocate*. Whether it did so
 or not, or whether the Right Honourable
 Person trusted, on this Occasion, to his
 Friend *Ar———*, I shall not pretend to
 determine: But three Letters in Defence of
 Sir *R-- W——* were actually printed in the
Gazetteer; in answer to which, after waiting
 a convenient Time to see whether the great
 Man wou’d avow them himself, or produce
 better, we had four successive ones in the
Craftsman,

Craftsman, address'd to a certain Right Honourable Gentleman.

I shall be excused for thus anticipating my Subject, and intermixing the History of a Controversy 15 Years after, with that of the Bank Contract in 1720, when the Reader reflects, that upon this Controversy depends all that we know certainly of the other Affair, and that without it we must have been content with the common Rumour, which imputed indeed this Contract to Mr. *W—*, but of which Imputation he was already endeavouring to clear himself, not suspecting the Existence of such an Evidence as the *original Paper*. If we cannot always have the same Evidence, to fix other Things where common Fame has ever placed them, have we more Reason to doubt of *them*, than we should have had to doubt of this Fact upon bare *Denial* of the Party, if subsequent Proof of it had never been made? Whether such Proof was fully made, and the Iniquity of this Contract fairly set home on the true Author of it, every Person must judge for himself.

The

The first of these *Craftsmen* contains some general Remarks on the foregoing History, and the other three are in Answer to the *Gazetteer's* Defence of it. I shall extract the chief Articles of the one, and then insert some Paragraphs of the rest immediately after those of the *Gazetteer* which they are designed to refute.

After giving a Narrative of the Progress of this Dispute, the Author remarks (in Answer to what was affirmed, that Mr. *W-----* was at this Time no Minister) That it is a pretty remarkable Circumstance, that any Man should be able to get so considerable a Place as that of Paymaster of the Army, without any *Credit* or *Power* at Court. 'But there is something farther (says this Gentleman) to be said upon this Head: 'For whether the Pay-master of the Army is, properly speaking, a Minister or not; 'it is certain that He had *more Power*, at that Time, than the Chancellor of the 'Exchequer; and carried, in Opposition to 'Him, one of the most scandalous Projects 'of the whole Year, besides the *Bank Contract*. It was called at first the *Re-*
conciliation

' *conciliation - Bargain*; but is better
 ' known at present by the Name of the
 ' *two Insurance Companies*; which gave Money
 ' to the *Civil-List* for the Privilege of
 ' becoming two Bubbles, under the Sanction
 ' of an Act of Parliament; * at a Time
 ' too, when the Treasury was provided
 ' with Ways and Means for the Supply of
 ' it otherwise; and when even the *South-*
 ' *Sea* Directors, who were afraid of this
 ' unnecessary Fewel, offered to advance the
 ' Money for the *Civil-List*, upon sure and
 ' easy Terms, rather than let those *Bubbles*
 ' take Place. It ought to be remember'd,
 ' that upon the first Forming of this Project,
 ' a Share sold for about 5*l.* and the same
 ' Share, at the highest Price afterwards, for
 ' about 140*l.* Now if you will be
 ' pleas'd to compare the proportional In-
 ' crease of the *South-Sea* to it, you will find
 ' how immensely larger the Gains were on
 ' the

* On the 11th of June, 1720, the Royal Assent was
 given to a Law entitled, *An Act for the better securing cer-
 tain Powers and Privileges, intended to be granted by his
 Majesty, by two Charters for Assurance of Ships and Mer-
 chandizes at Sea, and for lending Money on Bottomry, and
 for restraining several unwarrantable Practices therein men-
 tioned.*

the latter; and the World must judge, from the honourable Gentleman's Character, whether he made no Advantage of his own Bubble.

Mr. *A——bie*, in his second Speech before the House of Lords, has the following Passage relating to this Subject.

“The unaccountable Success of this Undertaking (meaning the *South-Sea Scheme*) gave Birth to † many base and ruinous Projects; and it must ever be a publick Reproach, that Encouragement was given to those two Bubbles, which were established to raise a Supply for the Support of the *Civil List*. 'Tis very well known that those two Projects did not proceed from Me.

“Whatever Opinion the World may have of the *South-Sea Scheme*, I will presume to say that these two Projects were founded in greater Iniquity, and contributed more to the public Calamity, than any thing else.”

As
† The Bubbles of this Year were little under a Hundred: Besides which, the Lords Justices, in the King's Absence, rejected eighteen Petitions at once, for new Schemes of the same Nature.

As to Mr. *Crafsman*'s being sent for up out of the Country, the *Crafsman* fays, This I believe may be true enough; but the chief Question is by whom he was sent for up, and what was his own particular Motive for obeying the Summons so readily.

It must be observ'd, (he goes on) even from this very Account (the Considerer's) of the Transaction, that the Meeting on the Part of the *South-Sea* was to persuade the Bank to circulate their Bonds; a Thing on which the latter did not immediately relish; but what was done, to make them relish it, and by whom proposed, were Points of too tender a Nature to be mention'd; and perhaps, it might be hoped that the former Words, every Step and Motion, would be carried on to the Transactions at this Meeting. But such is the Force of Truth, that it will sometimes shew itself through the most concerted Disguise; for the very Contract the Considerer, produces, imperfect as it is, shews plainly enough from which Side the Proposition came relating to the Stock.

After the Bank's Agreement to circulate the *South-Sea* Bonds, it is added, "That in Consideration of this Undertaking, the *South-Sea* Company shall pay the 3,700,000*l.* to be paid to the Bank by Notice of Parliament, in the *South-Sea* Stock, at a Price to be agreed on between the two Companies."

From hence, I think, it evidently appears that this was a Relisher of the Bank's own proposing, or a Thing given them in Consideration of what they promised to do; and that there can be no Doubt that both They and You (the Great Man to whom these Papers are addressed) made the best of it; since it soon afterwards appeared that it was never design'd to be kept, unless it happened to prove for the Advantage of the Bank; and you still acknowledge that the Whole of that Affair was only the *Biter's* being *bit*; an Expression full to every Point now brought into Dispute. For who were so well qualified to be the Biters, in this Case, as Those who made the Bargain, in order to sell out their Stock at 400*l.* per Cent.

Cent. and serve other useful Purposes; with
 a secret Reserve to make it void, if it
 should happen to turn against them after-
 wards? The Transfer Books of the *South-*
Sea Company bear some Memorials of the
 great Sales of Stock by those whom you
 intrusted with this Scene of Iniquity; nor
 must the extraordinary Transactions of a
 certain Shop, at that Time, be forgotten.
 You would think, no Doubt, that we had
 a very mean Opinion of your Parts, if we
 should suppose that you (who made no
 Scruple of drawing your intimate Friends
 into Contracts for Stock, at the highest
 Price) would let them into such a Secret
 as this, without partaking of it yourself.

As to the little Dispute, who should write
 down or draw the Minute; the *Craftsman*
 says, that 'this Dispute was so very little, as
 he is informed, that no body ever heard
 or saw it.'

But I shall have occasion to speak of this,
 in another Place.

I now come to the other Papers, which
 continued this Dispute.

Gazet. View this Transaction in its natural Light; Mr. A——bie in his Distress supplicating this honourable Person to come an hundred Miles to this Meeting; imploring his Consent to this Bank-Contract, as the only Thing in the World that could save the Government, that could save the Companies, that could save publick Credit, and, above All, the only Thing that could save his dearest self from being swallowed up quick in Destruction: At Length, after keeping him up at a Meeting almost all Night, by this infinite Importunity, prevailing with the great Person and the Bank to come into the Measure; and then, with the humblest Deference, requesting the great Person to draw up the Agreement; yet, fourteen or fifteen Years afterwards, appearing on the publick Stage, pretending to have pocketed that very Paper, which he prevail'd on the honourable Gentleman to draw; producing this Act, which he forced the honourable Gentleman into, as an infamous Act.

Crafts. In the first Place, Sir, how judiciously does Mr. Walsingham avoid owning that the honourable Gentleman was present at the Meeting of the 23d of September, where the

the *Contract* was concluded, which is pretended to have been *pocketed*; and yet how consistently, at the same Time, does he make every Thing, that passed in several Days, to have been done only on *that Day*?

Secondly, In what a ridiculous Figure does he place the honourable Gentleman, through the whole? For having set him forth as a great Person, a Character of the greatest Distinction, and the like, he dwindles him down at last to the Idea of a little Clerk, with a Pen behind his Ear, a ready Machine to write down any Thing that should be dictated to him, not only by his Superiors, but even by a Man of inferior Employments: For as such your Friend hath lately represented Mr. *A——bie*, though he had before vested him with such a Power as to force the honourable Gentleman into a Measure, contrary to his own Will, Judgment, and Conscience.

Thirdly, Supposing there was any Iniquity in this Transaction, as I think cannot be any longer denied; is it any Justification of the honourable Gentleman, to say that he was dupe'd or drawn into it by Mr.

A—bie; or did he not deserve the same Punishment which Mr. *A—bie* suffered, as well as several of the *South-Sea* Directors, who were no more in the Secret of Affairs than he pretends to have been?

But, lastly, let us come to the Point, and see whether the Fact really is as Mr. *Walsingham* hath stated it. Now this is so far from being the Case, that we have the following Relation of it in the *Political State*, for the Month of *September 1720*; which is so very remarkable, that I will quote it at large.

The Author of those Memoirs, (who, by the way, was no Friend to Mr. *A—bie*) having taken notice that the *South-Sea* Directors were disappointed in some Steps, which they had taken for keeping up the *Stock*, tells us, ‘ That the same continuing
 ‘ sinking, they were obliged to have Re-
 ‘ course to more effectual Methods. There-
 ‘ upon, they made some secret Advances
 ‘ towards an Union with the *East-India*-
 ‘ Company: But a secret Committee of the
 ‘ latter, appointed to consider of their
 ‘ Offers, not having thought proper to
 ‘ accept

' accept them, they were necessitated to
 ' court the Assistance of their Rival, the
 ' *Bank of England*, as the never-failing
 ' Support of public Credit. At the earn-
 ' est Desire, and by the vigilant Interposition
 ' of Mr. Secretary C——ggs, several
 ' Conferences were held between a select
 ' Number of Directors of those two Cor-
 ' porations; which raised so great an Ex-
 ' pectation, that on the 12th of *September*
 ' in the Morning, upon a Report that they
 ' had come to an Agreement for circulating
 ' six Millions of the *South-Sea-Company's*
 ' Bonds, the *South-Sea* Stock rose imme-
 ' diately to 670 £; but, in the Afternoon,
 ' as soon as that Report was known to be
 ' altogether groundless, the Stock fell again
 ' to 580 £, the next Day to 570 £, and
 ' so gradually on the 19th of *September*
 ' to 400 £; which increased the Mur-
 ' murings and Complaints of the last Sub-
 ' scribers, and exposed several of the
 ' *South-Sea* Directors to publick Insults.

' In order to put a Stop to this growing
 ' Evil, the *South-Sea* Directors held a
 ' Court on *Monday* the 19th of this Month;

' wherein several Proposals were made to
 ' give Satisfaction to the last Subscribers.
 ' At last, it was resolved to summon a gene-
 ' ral Assembly of the Company, to meet
 ' the next Day, at the usual Place; and to
 ' desire a fresh Conference with the Direct-
 ' ors of the *Bank of England*. The latter
 ' consented to it, at the Desire of the right
 ' Honourable the Lord Viscount T——nd
 ' President of the Council, Mr. Secretary
 ' C——ggs, and Mr. R. W. and this Con-
 ' ference, which was held at the General
 ' Post-Office, lasted from nine o'Clock in the
 ' Evening till near Three the next Morning.'

This Account is exactly confirm'd by the
Historical Register for the same Year, which
 are the only regular Memoirs of those
 Times yet extant.

There is not a Word, nor even the least
 Hint, that the honourable Gentleman un-
 dertook this kind Office with the *Bank*,
 at the Prayers, Intreaties, and Importunities
 of Mr. A——bie; but the whole is im-
 puted to the Lord Viscount T——nd, Mr.
 Secretary C——ggs, and Mr. R. W. It
 deserves particular Notice, that this Assertion
 of

of Mr. *Walsingham* must be a wilful, premeditated Falshood, because it appears from his Papers, now under Consideration, that he had consulted the *Political State* for this Year, and quotes it in several Places. This was one of the Points in which he was conscious of being detected, and therefore began to draw back, as soon as he saw the Storm, which he had brew'd up, falling upon him.——But to proceed.

It does not appear in either of these Books, or any where else, as far as I can find, that Mr. *A——bie* was so much as present at the Meeting on the 19th, though both he and the late Duke of *D——shire* are mentioned to be there on the 23d, and as the Stock Part of the Contract was first propos'd at this Meeting, though not completed till the 23d, it is a further Proof that this was not Mr. *A——bie's* Project, nor concluded at his Request. Indeed, I am inclin'd to believe, from several Circumstances and Passages in Print, that Mr. *A——bie* was not in Town on the 19th, but was sent for up, at the same time with the Honourable Gentleman, by Mr. Secretary

tary C——ggs, who is known to have had the chief Direction of Affairs, at that Time; and if they both set out immediately upon the Receipt of their respective Messages, it was not possible for Mr. A——bie to come out of *Yorkshire* so soon as the other could out of *Norfolk*. This Conjecture is very much strengthened by what Mr. A——bie says, in his second Speech before the House of Lords; where, having spoke of Sir *John Blunt*'s Power at that Time, he proceeds in the following Manner :

‘ But this Glory, my Lords, did not
 ‘ last long, and I was scarce got down into
 ‘ the Country, when I was called back by
 ‘ the Cries of those concern’d in this un-
 ‘ happy Company. I found the Lords and
 ‘ Others in the Administration met, and
 ‘ using their Endeavours to succour and
 ‘ support the Stock. The Bank, by their
 ‘ Mediation, was call’d in to the Assistance
 ‘ of the *South-Sea* Company, and an Agree-
 ‘ ment was made between the two Compa-
 ‘ nies, to which I was rather a *Witness*
 ‘ than a *Party*.

This

‘ This gave some Life to their Stock,
 ‘ and stop’d the Mouths of the Redeem-
 ‘ ables, who were grown very clamorous.
 ‘ I must own the just Concern I had, at
 ‘ that Time, and shall always retain for
 ‘ this great Body of the public Creditors;
 ‘ and I was pleas’d to see them so well sa-
 ‘ tisfied with the Bargain the Bank had
 ‘ made for them, and for themselves, upon
 ‘ whom they pin’d their Faith so absolute-
 ‘ ly. And for my Part, I (who was not
 ‘ in the Secret) could not but think it a
 ‘ real and sincere Bargain; since it was
 ‘ made in so solemn a Manner, between a
 ‘ Committee of both Companies, in the
 ‘ Presence of many Lords and Gentlemen
 ‘ in the Administration, confirm’d and ra-
 ‘ tify’d by the Court of Directors of each
 ‘ Company, and at last signify’d in Form
 ‘ to the Commissioners of the Treasury by
 ‘ Sir *John Cope*, one of the Directors of the
 ‘ Bank.

‘ I could not suspect there was any In-
 ‘ trigue or Deceit in this Transaction, ’till
 ‘ I saw, from the extraordinary Motions in
 ‘ the Alley, and several private Hints, that
 ‘ were

' were given out, what was intended. I
 ' could not think it possible that the Gen-
 ' tlemen of the Bank, who had such great
 ' Interest in the Redeemables themselves,
 ' should drop so many Thousands of the un-
 ' happy Proprietors, who had depended so
 ' intirely upon them, and would certainly
 ' have found their Way out of this cursed
 ' Labyrinth, if they had not been lull'd
 ' asleep by this fallacious Agreement.

' As for me, my Lords, I was thorough-
 ' ly satisfy'd that this Agreement of the
 ' Bank was a legal and a firm Bargain; and
 ' I can't yet imagine with what Face
 ' of Justice, or Equity, they could ever
 ' break through it, without providing for
 ' the Safety of their Wards (if I may use
 ' that Expression) the Proprietors of the re-
 ' deemable Debts.

' It must be observed that this Speech was
 not only made at a Time, when these Trans-
 actions were fresh in every Body's Memo-
 ry, but in the Presence of Lord T——nd,
 and I believe his late Grace of D——shire,
 who were particular Witnesses of them.
 From whence, I think, it may be con-
 cluded,

cluded, without any Partiality to Mr. *A——bie*, that he was clear, at least, in this Respect; since it is not reasonable to suppose that a Gentleman, in his Circumstances, would have been so very particular upon this Point, if he had been conscious of any criminal Concern in it, and could have been so easily detected; nor indeed was the Truth of this Fact ever contradicted, or call'd in Question, till Mr. *Walsingham* found it necessary for the Vindication of his honourable Patron.

Nay, the Abuse, which hath constantly follow'd Mr. *A——bie*, upon every Mention of the Bank-Contract in the *Craftsman*, or any Pamphlet, seems to arise from his having, in his own Defence, first pointed out the Iniquity of that Transaction, and to whom the Misfortunes of so many thousand Families are intirely owing, or who was the *Biter* in this Case.

I believe I might safely rest the Point here, and leave the World to decide upon it: But that nothing may be wanting to immortalize the great Man's Name amongst the boldest Assertors, as well as to satisfy the
 Publick,

Publick, I will now give them an Account of what really pass'd at these Meetings, as I have been inform'd by those who were present at them; for I must acquaint Mr. *Walsingham*, that I have had this Satisfaction as well as himself.

On the 19th of *September*, Mr. Secretary *C*—ggs acquainted the *South-Sea* Directors, that Mr. *W*—e, who knew Money Affairs better than any Man in the Kingdom, was of Opinion that their Proposal to the Bank, on the 16th, for circulating their Bonds, was an idle Scheme, and would do nothing; but that Mr. *W*—e had a Project to propose to them, which would answer the Purpose. Accordingly, as soon as Mr. *W*—e came, he propos'd that the Bank should subscribe their 3,700,000 *l.* into the *South-Sea* Stock, at a Price to be agreed on; and said it was a Proposal, which he had made to Sir *J*—n *B*—t, several Months before. He then apply'd himself particularly to one of the Directors, and ask'd him if *B*—t had not acquainted the Directors with it. Upon his replying that he knew nothing of it, the honourable

able Gentleman dubb'd Sir *Y—n B—t* a Villain, with his usual Politeness. There was not a single Word pass'd about who should take the Pen; but the honourable Gentleman took it of his own Accord, as being best capable to write down his own Proposal; and Mr. *A—bie* was so far from begging, praying, importuning, and wearying him till 3 or 4 in the Morning, at any Meeting, that he was very remarkably silent, upon the Occasion, and appear'd to be, as he says in his Speech, rather a Witness than a Party.

This is a short and true State of the Fact, and such a one as none of the Gentlemen then present can deny, except the honourable Person himself, if even he should think fit to persist in it.

The Author of the *Craftsman* then observes, that the Minutes of the *South-Sea Company*, that were deliver'd into Parliament, upon this memorable Bargain, will be alone sufficient to shew the honourable Gentleman's righteous Designs, as well as the Bank's, from the Beginning to the End of the Affair.

Friday,

Friday, 23d Sept. 1720.

At a Meeting of a Committee of the Bank of England, and a Committee of the Directors of the South-Sea Company,

The following Paper was drawn by Mr. W——e, as the Minutes or Agreement of this Meeting between the two Companies, viz. — Then follows the true *Bank-Contract*, with all the Blanks filled up.

I mention this Particular, in order to shew how ridiculous a Pretence it is, that 'this is only a Dispute between two Pamphlets;' or that such a Mistake could be occasioned by the honourable Gentleman's Want of Memory, even amidst the greatest Multiplicity of Affairs. This will appear still more incredible, if it should be true, as I have formerly hinted and been inform'd, that he not only drew up the original Draught, which is still subsisting in his own Hand-writing, but likewise made two fair Copies from it, one for the Bank, and the other for the *South-Sea Company*, which hath never yet been contradicted. Nay, it is evident that the honourable

able Gentleman had this second Contract lying before him, whilst he was writing the Considerations, by quoting the Substance of it, though he was pleased to call only it a Proposal; and, what is most surprising of all, his Friend Mr. *Walsingham* pretends to be much better acquainted with the Transactions at this Meeting than the honourable Gentleman, who was present at it. For he gives us an Account of every particular Circumstance of that Affair, and even the private Conversation of the Night; how Mr. *A——bie* prevail'd upon him to draw this unlucky Paper, which was afterwards pocketed, by such Expostulations as these; *for God's Sake help us! — We shall be undone! — We shall be torn in Pieces if you don't help us!*

Gazet. Whereas by an Act of the seventh Year of his late Majesty King George I. entitled, An Act for raising Money upon the Estates of the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, &c. of the South-Sea Company, &c. it is among other Things therein declared, "that John A——bie,

" Esq; late Chancellor and Under-Treasurer

M

of

" of the Exchequer, and one of the Commis-
 " sioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and a
 " Member of the House of Commons, in
 " Breach of the great Trust in him re-
 " posed, and with a View to his own exorbi-
 " tant Profit, had combined with the late
 " Directors of the South-Sea Company in
 " their pernicious Practices, and been guilty
 " of the most dangerous and infamous Corrup-
 " tions, to the Detriment of great Numbers
 " of his Majesty's Subjects, and to the manifest
 " Prejudice of the Publick Credit, and of the
 " Trade of the Kingdom." And whereas
 the said John A——bie not repenting him-
 self of his execrable Wickedness, nor making
 Atonement for his infamous Corruption, con-
 tinues to insult a plunder'd Nation, by erect-
 ing Palaces, and extending Parks, with a
 Profusion of Expence, manifesting most pro-
 digious Rapine; This is therefore to warn, &c.

Crafts. As to the Words in the Preamble of
 the Act, which is made the Foundation of all
 this Scurrility upon Mr. A——bie, I cannot
 help observing that the honourable Gentle-
 man himself not only spoke for omitting
 those Words, as too severe, but even against
 including

including Mr. *A——bie* in the same Bill with the *South-Sea* Directors. His Reasons were, as I find them in the *Political State*, “That
 “ it would seem hard to put a Person of
 “ Mr. *A——bie*’s Eminence and Distinction
 “ on the same Level with the Directors;
 “ and that such a Precedent might be of a
 “ dangerous Consequence.”——It is possible indeed that the hon. Gentleman might play a double Part, and secretly instruct his Creatures to vote against Mr. *A——bie*, whilst he was affecting an Air of Moderation himself. If this was the Case, Mr. *A——bie* is still farther justify’d in pointing out the Person to whom the most iniquitous Transaction of the whole Year was really owing.

But however that may be, the honourable Gentleman ought to be the last Person in the World that should be pleased with this Parliamentary Censure; and indeed the Act itself hath never been named in Parliament, as a Precedent, but he hath said that it was a ‘Precedent not to be followed;’ that it was a ‘Precedent not to be mentioned;’ that it was a ‘Precedent which ought to be forgot;’ and that it was a ‘Precedent submitted to

from the Rage of the Times.' But after having acknowledged all this, can he expect that the Rage of the Times will be allowed as a Proof of his own Innocence, when he was expelled and committed for Corruption; since he will no longer admit it to be a Plea for any Body else? What was Mr. ~~A~~bie ever charged with in the *South-Sea* Affair of which he was not at least equally guilty; not only then but almost ever since? His Crime in short was, that ' he was a Minister of State, and dealt in Stocks for his own Profit;' which is declar'd *being guilty of the most dangerous and most infamous Corruptions*: But what was the honourable Gentleman, at the Time of making the Bargain for the Assurance Companies, at the Time of making the Bank-Contract, and what hath he been at the Time of every Job since?

Mr. *Walsingham's* Comment on this Preamble is still more judicious; particularly where he puts us in Mind of a Person, " who continues to insult a plunder'd Nation, &c." Is not this calling upon Mankind to examine and judge his honourable

able Patron by the same Rules of Evidence by which he judges others? Will they not remember his Circumstances, when this Family came first to the Crown? Will they not compute that all he hath received in Salaries will not amount to 70,000 £? Will they not reflect on the Manner he hath lived in all this Time, whilst the Nation hath been groaning under burthensome Taxes? Notwithstanding this, when they come to consider the Greatness of his Estate, his immense Wealth; the Vanity of his Pleasures; and lastly, when they see him laying out, at one Place, to the Value of above Six-pence in the Pound upon all the Lands in *England*; when all this, I say, is consider'd, let the World judge who it is that continues to insult a plunder'd Nation, by erecting Palaces, and extending Parks, with a Profusion of Expence manifesting most prodigious Rapine.

Our Authors then proceed to the Dissolution or Composition of this Contract, by the reviving of the two Millions which had been annihilated in Favour of the Public, and remitting them to the South-

Sea-Company. Mr. *Walsingham*, to exclude his Patron from having any Hand in this Affair, proceeds in the following Manner.

Gazet. It is not even pretended that Sir R. W. was once seen in any Part of the Transaction, after the Contract was made. The South-Sea-Company apply'd themselves wholly, from this Time, to the Lords of the Treasury; in which Commission that honourable Gentleman was not inserted, till many Months after the Contract was concluded.

Crafts. If by the Word *seen* is only meant that the honourable Gentleman did not appear publicly in this Affair, after the Contract was made, I shall not dispute about it: For it is a common Thing for Statesmen to work by invisible or secret Means; and though he was not actually in the Treasury till about half a Year after, it is well known that he had bargain'd for it, and had even virtually the Power. Nay, it cannot be forgot that he assumed the Air and Language of a first Minister several Months before he took Possession of his Office

Office in Form, which was on the 1st of April, 1721; and the *South-Sea-Company* did not give up their *Contract* till the 22d of June, 1722; that is, above fourteen Months after the honourable Gentleman was establish'd in full Power. Besides, though the *South-Sea-Company* might apply to the Lords of the Treasury, to whom did the Bank apply? did not the honourable Gentleman privately encourage and support them in their Refusal to comply with their *Contract*; or was it not at last dissolved by his Means?

Here therefore is another Prevarication, if not a Falshood: But, in order to shift the Composition intirely off from his Patron, he spares no Pains to fix it on somebody else; and having met with Mr. P——'s Name in the Debates of those Times, he lays hold of it immediately, and presses it into his Service, without any farther Trouble than quoting his Words partially, and perverting them to a Meaning directly contrary to what they evidently bear.

As to the Remission of the two Millions, it must be confess'd that Mr. P——y was

for it, when it came into Parliament: But this being a Point in which the Opinions of Mankind were very much divided at that Time, and not generally understood at present, I will endeavour to give the Reader a true State of it.

In the first Place, it must be remember'd that the whole Sum of seven Millions, which the *South-Sea-Company* contracted to give the Publick, for the Execution of their Scheme, was supposed to arise from the Profit of the advanced Price upon their Stock; which not only answered their Expectation, but rose to such an immoderate Height, by the Infatuation of those Times, and thereby involv'd the greatest Part of the Nation in such terrible Distress, that they found it necessary to reduce the 3d and 4th Subscriptions, which were taken in at 1000 £ *per Cent.* to 400 £, and to give the Annuitants proportionable Relief. The Parliament afterwards thought fit to interpose, and resume the Advantages which they had before given them in the *South-Sea Act*, by dividing the capital Stock belonging to the Company in their own Right, and

and discharging all the Loans upon pledg'd Stock at 10 *£* per Cent; which amounted, in the whole, to an immense Sum. The Parliament was therefore oblig'd, in common Justice, to give the Company likewise some Relief from their Engagements to the Publick, when the Consideration of them was thus taken away; for if they had been forc'd to pay that vast Premium, it must have been out of their Capital, instead of their Profit. Accordingly, it was propos'd and carried, at first, to remit the whole seven Millions; But this being oppos'd, upon the Report, five Millions only were remitted at that Time, and so much of the Capital Stock of the Company as the rest amounted to was annihilated; by which two Millions of the national Debt was reduced. But the Calamities of the unhappy Proprietors continuing to increase, by the Fall of their Stock, and their being compell'd, as was really the Case, to release the Bank from their Contract, a Petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 11th of *December*, 1722, setting forth, ' That they labour'd under an insupportable
' Burthen,

‘ Burthen, from which they pray’d to be
 ‘ reliev’d.’ This Petition being back’d by
 a Recommendation from the Throne, a
 Motion was made for reviving the other
 two Millions, as the only practicable Re-
 lief, at that Time; which occasion’d a long
 Debate, and was at last carried in the Af-
 firmative.

It appears that Mr. P—y was for the
 Remission; and, considering the Circum-
 stances of the Nation, as well as the *South-
 Sea-Company*, at that Time, I must leave
 the World to judge whether he did not act
 a right Part.

But the Conduct of the honourable Gen-
 tleman in this Particular was quite different;
 for though he spoke and voted on the same
 Side of the Question, or however reason-
 able and necessary this Relief might be, it
 is plain from the Refusals they met with
 before, when they apply’d to the Throne
 for that Purpose, that he was resolv’d not
 to give Way to it, till they submitted to the
 Terms which he and the Bank imposed
 upon them; or, as their Sub-Governor
 worded it, made a proper Condescension.

Mr.

Mr. *Walsingham* having admitted that the honourable Gentleman did employ his Influence with the Bank to assist the *South-Sea Company* in their Distress, and that he was a Party in the Consummation of the Matter, asks the following Questions:

Gazet. Was this then a Business solicited by Sir R—— W——? Did he contrive the Meeting? Did he come thither from any Views of his own? Could he come thither with any Fraud in his Heart, when he scarcely knew the Purpose of their Meeting?

Crafts. The first Proposal made to the Bank was on the 16th of September 1720, and it is acknowledged that the honourable Gentleman drew up the Minutes of the Agreement between the two Companies on the 19th of the same Month. Now considering the necessary Time for sending and coming an hundred Miles out of the Country, it is hardly possible that Affairs could be brought to such a Forwardness in three Days inclusive, even supposing that the Messenger was dispatched to him immediately upon

upon the Proposal, much less, if he had no previous Conversation with the principal Managers of the Bank, and did not so much as know the Purpose of their Meeting. But if it be true, that it was a Project of his own Formation, several Months before, and which he had actually concerted with the Bank, it was practicable enough, and will solve all Difficulties.

Gazet. Was this Sir R— W—'s Proposition? Or did he want it for the Ease of any Difficulty wherein he had involv'd himself or his Country? Or could he want it for any Advantage to himself? Or could he propose it to the Bank, or advise them who depended on his Advice, to come into it for any Ends but to relieve the general Calamity, and to prevent the precipitate Fall of the Stock? Was it ever imputed to Sir R— W—, that he gain'd a Farthing by any Part of this Transaction; that the Contract was made or dissolv'd for his Profit or Advantage?

Craftsman. What will not this Wretch say, or do, to serve a little dirty Turn? Was there

there no Profit or Advantage to be made by being at the Bottom of such a Secret? Did it not furnish his Patron with an Opportunity of selling out what Quantity of South Sea Stock he pleased at 400 l. per Cent. and buying it in again under Par? Is there not all the Reason in the World to believe that he did make this Advantage of it; or hath it not at least been imputed to him? Nay, did not the whole Transaction serve him for a Ladder of Ambition, by which he mounted to the Summit of Power, and gain'd such immense Riches? Besides, how could he possibly think that such a Bargain would prevent the Fall of Stock, or relieve the general Calamity? Was it not very natural to suppose that it would have a quite contrary Effect, as it actually had, when the Collusion appear'd, and involve Thousands of Families, who had escaped the general Calamity before, in utter Destruction?

Gazet. The Contract could not have been put in Execution, without absolute Ruin to the Bank of England.

Crafts. This is begging the Question; at least, it being impossible to say, with any Certainty, how far the punctual Performance of it might have kept up *South-Sea* Stock; or, if that had been found too heavy for the *Bank* to bear, a moderate Composition would have certainly done some Good, by dividing the Loss between the two Companies; and, in that Case, some Part of the two Millions might have been retain'd for the Use of the Public.

I would likewise ask, how the *Bank* came to deserve so much more Favour than the *South-Sea* Company; or, supposing the worst that could have happened, why one Part of the public Creditors ought to be ruin'd more than another?

I shall say nothing farther, concerning the Validity of this Contract; because that Part of the Question seems to be given up by the honourable Gentleman's Advocates, who lay the chief Stress of their Argument upon the Impossibility of executing it, without fatal Consequences. Besides, it does not much affect the main Point in Dispute, or the Charge against the honourable

able

able Gentleman, whether the Bargain was strictly binding, or not; for it cannot be deny'd that it was made and published in such a Manner, as to convince Mankind, in general, that it was a perfect Agreement, and thereby drew Multitudes of the most cautious Persons into the Snare. It was therefore the more iniquitous in the Negotiator, if he knew or believ'd it not to be obligatory, whilst he was transacting and carrying it on.

Gazet. If it be clearly shewn, that the great Person neither could nor ought to have forc'd a Performance of the Contract;—it is then said, We don't condemn him for breaking it, but for making it.—If it be shewn by what irresistible Importunities, Clamours, and Supplications, he was drawn in to make it;—it is then said, We don't condemn him for making it, but for breaking it:—So that We are brought to a seesaw of Words, about breaking and making, and making and breaking, without understanding any thing of Facts.

Crafts.

Crafts. If it was a Contract that ought not to have been performed, it ought not to have been made; because it induced so many thousand People to buy *South-Sea-Stock* at an high Price, upon the Credit of it. — If it was a Contract that ought to have been made, it ought not to have been broke; because that was directly contrary to the pretended Design of it, and must necessarily increase the general Calamity, instead of relieving it.

Let us now, *says the same Author*, sum up the Whole, and see how the Case stands with relation to the honourable Person.

— It appears, from the foregoing Deduction, that he took a scandalous Advantage of the general Calamity at that Time, and made the Misfortunes of his Country the Means of enriching and aggrandizing himself; that, with this View, he cook'd up a fraudulent Project, under the Pretence of supporting the *South-Sea Company*, but with a Design of selling out Stock at an high Price, and deluding the unhappy Sufferers with false Hopes of Relief, till his other Purposes were ripe for Execution.

That,

That, in order to draw the Bank into this Scheme, he gave them private Assurances of being releas'd from their Engagement, in case it should happen to turn against them: That, after several Meetings, a Contract was drawn up between them, by the honourable Gentleman himself, in which the *Bank* agreed to circulate a Number of *South-Sea* Bonds, upon certain Conditions; and the *South-Sea* Company, in Return, contracted to grant the *Bank* a Million of their capital Stock, at 400 *l.* per Cent. which was then the market Price, and cheaper than the first Subscribers of Annuities had it. This Agreement was afterwards confirm'd by a Court of Directors of each Company, and signify'd in Form to the Lords of the Treasury.

It farther appears that, in Pursuance of this solemn Contract, a Subscription was taken in by the *Bank*, for the Circulation of *South-Sea* Bonds; which is generally allow'd to have sav'd the *Bank* from the Calamities of those Times; and though they never circulated one of the Bonds, for which the Subscription was taken in, the

South-Sea Company was, at last, most equitably adjudg'd to pay 30,000 *l.* for the Expence of it.

On the other hand, as soon as it was found that *South-Sea* Stock was likely to continue falling, the *Bank* began to prevaricate about the other Part of the Agreement, which was their own Proposal, and afterwards peremptorily refused to comply with it. In this, as it likewise appears, they were secretly abetted by the honourable Gentleman, and, at last, totally released from it, by his Influence, not only without any Composition, but even with very great Advantage; for the *South-Sea* Company, finding themselves in this Condition, and being at the same time incumber'd with heavy Debts, had no Hopes of Relief, but from the Remission of the two Millions, which had likewise been refused them, whilst they insisted upon their Contract. In order therefore to obtain the *First*, they were obliged to give up the *Last*, and to sell four Millions of their Stock to the *Bank* at a much lower Price than it was worth; so that the *Bank* was amply rewarded,

ed, several ways, for their Concurrence in this Project.

Lastly, Whatever Motives might induce other Gentlemen to vote for the Remission of the two Millions, it appears that He came into it upon no other Foot, than by way of Composition with the *South-Sea Company* for their giving up the *Bank Contract*.

Taking the Whole therefore together, can any thing be more fraudulent and ruinous, or more flagitious, than this Transaction, except their endeavouring to fix it upon Gentlemen to whom it does not belong, by averring a solemn Falshood in the Face of the World, and insulting the Ruined, by telling them it was only *biting the Biter*.

I shall add nothing of my own to these Extracts, which contain a most impartial Representation of this Controversy; there being no need to direct the Reader's Judgment, where Facts are so strongly stated.

S E C T. III.

*Grants to the Civil List; Votes of Credit;
Supplies for the Current Services.*

THOUGH some make it a contested Point, whether Mr. *W.* had any Influence on our foreign Affairs till after the Treaty of *Hanover*, no-body will pretend to deny, that from the Time, at least, when he was sworn Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, he had the supreme Direction of the Finances. If it be true, therefore, what I believe every Man will grant, that the chief Qualification for the Discharge of that high Trust (next to Skill in the Regulation, which we shall not here dispute) is *Frugality* in the Disposition of the public Money, we come at once to the single Criterion, by which to judge of that Gentleman's Administration. And, as I do not remember that the Facts advanced in a Pamphlet published in 1734, and intitled,

titled, *An Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domestic Affairs, from the Year 1721 to the present Time*, were ever actually contradicted, I shall rely chiefly on that Piece, during the said Period, and then bring down my History, from other Authorities, to the End of the ROBINOCRACY.

My Author, to avoid Confusion, divides our Expences under these distinct Heads: *Additional Grants to the Civil List; Votes of Credit; Annual Provisions for the Navy and Army.* With these I shall include *the State of the Sinking Fund, and the National Debts.*

At the Opening of the Parliament in 1721, his Majesty assured his People from the Throne, that *the Face of our Affairs abroad was become more favourable; that the Peace in the South wanted only the Form of a Congress, and that of the North was brought much nearer a Conclusion.* From whence it was hoped, that no unusual Supplies would, this Year at least, be required from them. But towards the End of the Session, a Demand was made, by a Message from the Crown, of 72,000*l.* for a Sub-

sidy to the King of *Sweden*. To what Purpose intended, I shall enquire in another Place.

Not many Days after, came another Message, desiring an extraordinary Supply of only 500,000 *l.* for the *Civil List*. 600,000 *l.* were to have been paid by the two *Assurance* Companies, for their Charters, granted in the Year 1720, but those Gentlemen having represented, that, by their common Sufferings, with the rest of the Nation, in that unhappy Year, they were not able to pay more than half the Sum they had promised to lend the Crown, the other Moiety of 300,000 *l.* was (one may imagine through his Influence who had given them Being) remitted to them. And though the Message says, that this Money would have been sufficient to have satisfied the Debts of the *Civil List* in 1720, yet, in 1721, a Sum of 500,000 *l.* was asked, and granted, to make good a Deficiency of 300,000 *l.* A remarkable Clause was slipped into the same Bill, without any Motion, Leave, or Instruction, to exempt his Majesty's 700,000 *l.* *per Annum* from paying

paying any of the Crown Pensions or Annuities; which Clause, in the most summary Manner, at once, eased the *Civil List* of the *annual* Sum of 36,200 *l.* a Sum that, if valued at 25 Years Purchase, amounts to above 900,000 *l.* granted in a Manner quite unprecedented.

From this Time, says my Author, there was such a Friendship and Harmony conciliated between the House of Commons and the Ministers, and the Access to the Purse of the People was become so easy, that they found themselves under no Necessity to think of the solemn Promise made by the Crown, to reduce the Expences of the Civil List. On the contrary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, in the Beginning of April 1725, delivered a second Message from his Majesty; wherein it is declared, "That the Necessities of the Government had render'd it impracticable to make any considerable Retrenchment in the Expences of the civil Government, and had engaged his Majesty in some extraordinary Expences.—And there-

fore prayed, "to be enabled to make
 "use of the Funds, settled for the Pay-
 "ment of the Civil List Annuities, to
 "discharge the present Debt on the Civil
 "List of 500,000 *l.* as appeared by an
 "Account at the same time delivered to
 "the House."

Tho' the former 500,000 *l.* and by the
 same Rule this, was said to be without lay-
 ing any new Burthen on the People (being
 to be raised by a Tax of Sixpence in the
 Pound on the Civil-List itself) the Fallacy
 of this Pretence was perceived by a future
 Parliament, who found that this Million,
 having no Fund to pay the Principal, was
 a certain irredeemable Debt, and that even
 30,000 *l. per Annum*, the Interest, must be
 made good, by Warrants from the Trea-
 sury, out of the annual Supplies, or from
 the Sinking-Fund. The next Year this
 Million was made a Lottery, and then
 turn'd into Annuities, when it appear'd
 that 10,000 *l.* of it had been paid off; yet
 was the Lottery for a whole Million,
 which, with the Expence of Drawing, cost

Expence of Drawing, cost

above 100,000 *l.* to raise; besides a Loss of one *per Cent.* more upon 103,000 *l.* of these Tickets for *Nevis* Debentures.

The Year 1725 produced the most amazing Retrospect into Accounts that had ever been known; for a Sum of 101,800 *l.* was then taken from the Sinking Fund, to make good what was due from the Excise, in order to compleat his Majesty's Civil List Revenue to 700,000 *l.* *per Annum.* This Deficiency, it was pretended, was occasioned by several Mistakes, committed in stating the Produce of those Revenues, in the surplus Accounts, between the Year 1715, and *Michaelmas* 1724, and the greatest Part of it was said to have happened in 1716, but was forgot or not discovered till now. The House indeed call'd for Accounts, to explain a Fact of this extraordinary Nature: But the most material ones were delayed so long, that the Recess of Parliament prevented their proceeding on them that Session; and the Success of all future Endeavours to examine into the most important Subjects satisfied the World, why the same

Enquiry

Enquiry was not resumed. This afterwards encouraged the taking of 42,000 *l.* on the same Account, out of the Revenue of the *Post-Office*, and 12,575 *l.* of the same Office, for Secret-Service Money. All which, to the amount of 156,000 *l.* was looked upon as an Accession to the Civil List. And as these Methods of paying Money out of the Revenue, before it comes into the *Exchequer*, were esteemed, formerly, to be very unjustifiable, they are certainly much more so at present, when the Surplus of these Revenues are appropriated to the Payment of the public Debts, and the Circumstances of the Kingdom are so greatly alter'd.

When our Kings had only occasional Aids and Subsidies granted them for immediate Services, which soon ceased, the Collection was by few Officers, and at little Expence. As the Money was usually given to carry on Wars undertaken by the Crown, and not in so liberal a Manner as Supplies have been lately given, the Scantiness of them engaged our Princes to keep a very watchful Eye over the Disposition of the Money; there

' there being no long continued Parlia-
 ' ments, in those Days, ready to make
 ' good all Deficiencies demanded from
 ' them, nor was there any Occasion for
 ' Acts of Appropriation. The Necessities
 ' of the Prince were a sufficient Check, in
 ' that Case, upon the Conduct of his Mi-
 ' nisters, and their Mismanagement seldom
 ' escaped his Resentment ; for it was him-
 ' self who felt it more than the People.

' But the whole Frame of our Govern-
 ' ment is since changed, with respect to
 ' the Method and Manner, as well as the
 ' great Sums of Money raised upon the
 ' People ; our Necessities having rendered
 ' annual Sessions of Parliament necessary,
 ' for above forty Years past, in order to
 ' carry on two very long and expensive
 ' Wars against a Power, who threatened
 ' the Liberties of *Europe*. Upon this Ac-
 ' count, the Public chearfully submitted to
 ' many great Difficulties and Inconveniences,
 ' the Extent and Duration of which could
 ' not possibly be foreseen at that Time.'

These Difficulties and Inconveniencies
 are enumerated to be the Charge of *Officers*
 employ'd

employ'd in the Collection and Disposition of our Taxes, which are not only a Burthen to the Kingdom, but are become formidable to our Liberties; the great Number of lucrative *Employments*, which thro' the Misfortune of our Debts are now in the Disposition of the Minister, and give him an Opportunity to gratify Persons of all Ranks and Degrees; the Produce of the *Taxes* solemnly appropriated to the Payment of the national Debt, and amounting to a settled Revenue of near three Millions and a half; which, tho' a greater Trust than was ever before known, is left without any proper Checks or Regulations, as an Appendix only to the Office of the Treasury; the Charges attending the *Management* of the Revenues, which have been left, without any Controul, to the Wisdom, Integrity, and Discretion of Men, who may execute this unlimited Authority with a View to private Interest, as easily as with a constant Regard to the Improvement of the Revenue only; the Manner of stating the Accounts of the *Sinking-Fund*, by setting down the Surplusses only of many different Duties

ties blended together, without giving the House the distinct Produce of them, or the Payments out of them. These are all Grievances which the Legislature has been call'd on to redress; but which, by what can be yet perceived, are like to remain with the capital Debt, unless the House of Commons should be quite independent of a Ministry.

I must not omit that the Author of the *Enquiry*, when he declares that these Particulars demand the strictest Attention of our Representatives, adds, that the Representatives have been call'd on by the Gentlemen of the Revenue themselves to a more strict Discharge of this Part of their Duty; since by taking the Sums before mentioned, to make good his late Majesty's Civil List, they plainly confess that Mistakes have been committed in these Accounts, to the Prejudice of the Crown; and we may conclude, says he, 'without any Breach of
' Charity, that the Public hath not a greater
' Share in their Care and Concern.' Undoubtedly such a Sum as eighty five Millions, which he mentions to have been
raised

raised on the Publick between 1721 and 1733, the first twelve Years of the late Administration deserved to be taken some Account of by the Guardians of the Publick Liberties and the Properties of Individuals. And that there has not since been less Occasion for the constant Inspection of that august Body, will appear before we have done with this Article.

What follows concerning further Grants to the *Civil-List*, before the Year 1734, cannot be sum'd up more concisely than in the very Words of my Author.

Upon the Demise of his late Majesty, the whole Produce of all the old *Civil-List* Funds, with the additional 120,000 *l.* out of the *Sinking-Fund*, was settled on his present Majesty, to make up 800,000 *l. per Ann.* and by an admirable Way of Reasoning, because his late Majesty died before the usual Time of stating the Account of the *Sinking-Fund*, the Surplus of all the *Civil-List* Funds, from the 25th of *March* 1727 to the 11th of *June* following, were judged to belong to the *Civil List*; though it is certain that this Surplus arises wholly from the

the Addition made to the Civil-List Revenues, out of the sinking Fund, by an Act past in the first of his late Majesty's Reign, which establishes the aggregate Fund.

In the following Year, * the ever-memorable Demand of 115,000*l.* was made, first by way of Deficiency, as if the Produce of the Civil List Funds were not sufficient to make good the 800,000 *l. per Annum* granted to his Majesty : But when it plainly appeared, by Examination of the Officers of the Revenue at the Bar, with several Accounts call'd for and deliver'd to the House, that this Sum and more was actually standing out in Arrears, which would be soon paid into the Exchequer, the Pretence of a Deficiency was forced to be given up, and this Money was in a manner beg'd by way of Salvo, to the Credit of those who first demanded it as a just Debt. Nay, for their Honour, there is a Clause in the Act of Parliament which grants it, attesting this Truth, by enacting that 115,000*l.* shall be repaid out of any Arrears of the Civil-List, at his Majesty's

jeſty's Demife; and if we may believe a little Pamphlet, † which fully explains this Matter, and was never answer'd, there was ſo far from being any Deficiency, that the Civil-List received, at leaſt, a Million that Year.

The farther additional Grants to the Civil-List, under the Name of Votes of Credit, are as follows:

In the Year 1726, upon another Meſſage from his Maſteſty, of a very extraordinary Nature (as the Proteſts of the Lords ſet forth at large) there was an unprecedented Grant of Money, without the Limitation of any Sum, ſaid to be *for ſecuring the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and preſerving the Peace of Europe*; on which Account there was taken out of the annual Supplies the Sum of 175,000 l. over and above 75,000 l. on Account of the Treaty with the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*.

Meſſages from the Crown, upon theſe Occaſions, having given ſome Trouble to the

† A Letter from a Member of Parliament to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Sum of 115,000 l. granted for the Service of the Civil-List. Printed in the Year 1729.

the Ministers, a new Artifice was put in Practice the next Year, by ordering the Secretary of the Treasury to make a Motion in the Committee upon the Malt-Bill, for a Clause to empower his Majesty to apply such Sums as should be necessary for defraying the like Expences, in *securing our Trade and Navigation, and preserving the Peace of Europe.* By Virtue of this Clause, the Sum of 250,000 *l.* was taken for these Services, besides 50,000 *l.* more for the King of Sweden, upon his Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover.*

In the Year 1728, upon another Message from the Crown, the Sum of 60,000 *l.* was given on the same Account, for *securing our Trade, &c.*

The Sum of 93,940 *l.* of the late Queen's Civil-List-Lottery which remain'd unsubscribed to the *South-Sea-Company*, being intirely paid off in the Year 1728, by the 35,000 *l.* *per Annum* appropriated for this Service; and there being an annual Sum of 16,400 *l.* then remaining, more than what answer'd the bare Interest of that Part of the Lottery which was subscribed into the

South-Sea-Company, this annual Sum of 16,400 *l.* was judg'd to belong to the Civil-List, according to the usual Way of reasoning upon these Occasions, and hath been accordingly taken; though by the Act of the 6th of his late Majesty, the whole 35,000 *l.* is appropriated for ever, with the other Branches of the Sinking Fund, towards the Payment of the National Debt.

It would be endless to enter into many other particular Assurances received by the Civil List; as the Grants of Falls of Wood, &c. an Account of which from the Year 1715 to June 1727 was moved for by an Address, in the Year 1728, but had a Negative put upon it; though it was represented that great Wastes had been made in the Royal Forests at a Time when the Nation was in the utmost Want of Timber to supply and support the Navy.

That some of these Grants were not very justifiable, seemed to be allow'd by a Gentleman in great Power, who observed that this Enquiry might be injurious to some who are dead, but would be unprofitable to the Living. But I must beg Leave to ask

ask him, whether preventing the like for the Time to come would be of no Service to the Public.

Few Persons will be surpris'd at the frequent Necessaries of the Civil-List, notwithstanding that ample Revenue, which was settled on his late Majesty, when they remember that no less a Sum than * 1,336,300*l.* was paid in four Years, from *March 1721 to March 1725*, for Pensions, Bounties, and secret Service Money; which is annually above half the Civil-List Revenue; and if such Measures were to continue, the Gentleman, who wrote the *short History of the Parliament in 1714*, may live to see his own Prophecy fulfilled; *that a Land, or Malt-Tax, must at last be made an hereditary Revenue for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.*

After some Reflections on the Damage that must accrue by such Profusion, to both Prince and People, and even to Ministers themselves, as it induces a corrupt Dependance thro' all Ranks and Degrees of Men;

O 2

this

* See Considerations on the National Debt, &c.

this Writer proceeds to *Votes of Credit*, or Grants of Money without any Limitation of the Sum, or Specification of the Services to be performed. This he does by giving an Account of the annual Supplies to that Year, 1734, in which he includes not only these Votes of Credit, but the Subsidies to the King of Sweden, the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, the King of Denmark, and the Pay of 12,000 *Hessians* for five Years. All these Articles, as computed below (*) amount to 26,735,953 *l.* in the Space of twelve Years: Which, upon an Average, makes 2,227,900 *l. per Annum*. And if to this we add the annual Interest of the public Debt, with the Sinking Fund (which may

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
* In 1722	2,554,762	15	04
In 1723	1,769,279	16	02
In 1724	1,748,122	05	02
In 1725	1,727,344	09	03
In 1726	1,399,285	17	07
In 1727	2,980,801	15	04
In 1728	3,123,449	15	06
In 1729	3,087,859	04	02
In 1730	2,166,400	09	09
In 1731	2,060,232	09	04
In 1732	1,743,359	01	10
In 1733	1,835,056	00	06
Total	26,735,953	10	02

be estimated at about three Millions and a half) together with the Civil-List, as granted to his present Majesty, the making good the Deficiencies of old Funds, Interest of the annual Grants in Parliament, and the Charge of Collection and Management of all the Duties and Taxes, which raise these Revenues, since the Year 1721, it will hardly be found to be less than seven Millions a Year. A Sum that must shock every Person, who has a real Concern for his Country; especially if Dr. *Davenant*, who was uninfluenced by the Prejudices and Passions of the present Time, has advanced a Truth, when he says, 'That when this Kingdom shall be arriv'd at that Period of ill Conduct, as to pay constantly five or six Millions *per Annum*, we may venture to pronounce, that the common People of *England* will be then as poor and miserable as the common People of *France* were before the War;' and if, as we have been told since by an able Mathematician, whenever *Great-Britain* raises above five Millions in a Year, the Kingdom would be exhausted and ruin'd in a few Years. Melancholly

lancholly indeed! to think that we annually run behind-hand two Millions, which is above a fourth Part of the whole Returns between the Crown and the People. What shou'd we think of a Merchant, who carried on Traffick in this Manner?

Tho' every Attempt to obtain a proper Authority to examine the public Accounts had been opposed and defeated, the Author of the Inquiry observes, that the common Papers only, which were annually laid before the Parliament, were sufficient to evince that there might have been some Savings, even since that frugal Aera of the Year 1721. He instances in the following Particulars:

' If we look into the Papers concerning
' the Navy, we shall find the same Practice,
' of which a worthy Patriot complain'd, with
' relation to the Army, in the Year 1718.
' New Captains, Masters of Ships, and Lieu-
' tenants are made at home, whilst Numbers
' fit for Service are kept on Half-pay. Of-
' ficers have been advanced to higher Posts,
' and enter'd on board for a very short Time,
' in order to receive greater Half-pay only; a

Charge

Charge on the Kingdom, both for Sea and Land Service, that was formerly very small, when compared to what it hath cost the Nation in later Times!

The Article of *Contingencies*, in most Offices, is greatly enhanced beyond what it ever was formerly, in Times of Peace, and seems to be under no Regulation or Restraint, though it amounts to near 77,000*l.* in three Offices, since the Year 1720. There is one Article, in this Account, which I believe the Modesty of the Gentlemen concern'd would have scarce allow'd them to ask of Parliament, though the Payment of it does not seem very justifiable without such an Authority, I mean the Sum of about 23,000*l.* repaid to the Officers of the Navy and Victualling for the Land-Tax of their Salaries.

After reflecting on the Unreasonableness of this, with respect to Country Gentlemen, who have no Places, we come to the Rebuildings and Repairs belonging to the Admiralty, Navy, and Victualling Offices. These, between 1721 and 1733, amount to above 262,000*l.* for which the Nation

pays 5 *per Cent.* included under the Head of *Wear and Tear*, all expended without any Estimate laid before the Parliament, and at a Time when that Branch of the public Service was near two Millions in Debt. On the same Branch was charged the extraordinary Expence of a Naval Academy, which can be of no use in *England*, where the Theory of Navigation is almost every where taught; but may in Time become an Hospital of Pensioners, to the Favourites and Dependents of those in Power.

‘ If we turn (says my Author) to the Provisions for the Army, we shall find extraordinary Expences of the same Kind, growing upon the Public.

‘ The single Article of Garrisons is, by a gradual Increase, brought to above 6000 *l. per Ann.* more than it was in the Year 1720, and from 29,800 *l.* a Year, is now above 35,800 *l.* a Year, which is one fifth Part of the whole Expence.

‘ In the four Years, from 1721 to 1725, there is 4000 *l.* paid, by way of Secret-Service Money, for securing the Peace

‘ of

of the Highlands in *North Britain*; and in the Year 1725, we were put to an Expence of 2500 *l.* more for disarming the Highlanders.

In 1726 the Sum of 7000 *l.* was paid for repairing Fortifications, building Barracks, &c. in *Scotland*; and since that Time, by an annual Expence increasing most Years, there hath been paid 22,000 *l.* for repairing and making new Roads, in that Part of the Kingdom.

Soon after the late Rebellion, the three Highland independent Companies were broke, at the unanimous Request of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *North-Britain*; it being represented that they were too often employed by the Heads of the Clans, who got the Command of them by Turns, to execute private Grudges and Revenges on one another, to the great Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of that Country.

The Pay of these Companies, before the Rebellion, was 2,847 *l.* per Annum; but, in the Year 1726, six Companies of these Forces, which had been before

repre-

represented as Nuisances, were now raised at 5,721 *l. per Annum*, and this increasing, as most other public Expences do, like *Hydra's Heads*, they were augmented two Years afterwards, and their Pay now amounts to 9,100 *l. per Annum*.

These few Instances of additional Expences in *North-Britain* only, with some farther Additions to the Pay of the Officers of the Garrisons there, have already cost the Nation above 110,000 *l.* a Sum that is near the Produce of their Land-Tax, for ten Years, when it is one Shilling in the Pound.

It would be tedious to pursue every Instance of this Kind. I shall therefore conclude with a new Expence or two, which are in their Beginning only; that is, about 7000 *l.* lately paid for victualing Forces at *Jamaica*, and for Flesh-meat for the Regiments at *Minorca*. It is well known, that the Regiment at *Jamaica* was maintained, in the last War, without this Charge; and that the Forces at *Minorca* have hitherto subsisted without any such Allowance.

As

As most of these Expences were made without any Estimate, or Demand in Parliament, and brought into the Account of Services unprovided for, it is demonstrated that they were, in effect, raising Money without the Authority of Parliament; and that, tho' they might seem of little Consequence in the Beginning, they were in danger of being increased to a burthensome Extravagance. It was therefore necessary, while such Applications were in their Infancy, to refer them and all Demands and Estimates to a Committee, who might compare them with former Establishments, and state and report the Difference. If this had been done, during the last twelve Years only of the late Administration, we should soon be able to make some Judgment of the Savings that might have been made. In order to which, my Author says, it will be proper to consider the Services and Expences which were formerly thought necessary, in Time of Peace.

Now those who made the largest Allowance never thought of maintaining an Army of above ten Thousand Landmen, and
a Fleet

' a Fleet of about five thousand Seamen.
 ' These, with the Ordinary of the Navy, the
 ' Ordnance, the Forces at *Gibraltar*, *Minor-*
 ' *ca*, and the Plantations, *Half-pay*, and some
 ' other small Articles, include all the publick
 ' Expences.

' Whoever will give himself the Trouble
 ' to collect and compare the several *Esti-*
 ' *mates* on these Heads, which have been
 ' delivered into Parliament since the Union,
 ' will find that about 1,025,900 *l.* *per Ann.*
 ' will support all these Services, if we only
 ' add to it a little of that frugal Manage-
 ' ment, in correcting the *Estimates* and re-
 ' forming Abuses, which was most strenuously
 ' pleaded for by a worthy Patriot, * in the
 ' Year 1718. This Sum, for twelve Years,
 ' amounts to 12,310,800 *l.* from whence it
 ' appears that the extraordinary Expences, in
 ' these twelve Years, amount to above
 ' 14,400,000 Pounds; which is a greater
 ' Sum than hath been raised upon Land with
 ' in the same Time:

' To this we must add another grievous
 ' Consideration, that many Millions of these
 ' extra-

* MR. WALPOLE.

extraordinary Expences have been defray'd out of that sacred Treasure, which was once thought inviolably appropriated to the Payment of the National Debt.

It is certain that the Reduction of this Debt hath been recommended in the most earnest and pathetick Manner to the House of Commons, in almost every Speech from the Throne, for twenty Years past, as a Point which deserved their chief Attention, and was of the utmost Consequence to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

The Commons have likewise, in as many Addresses, given the strongest Assurances of their fix'd Intentions carefully to improve, and religiously to apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund to this wise and good End.

I believe most Persons who have read these Recommendations and Assurances, are apt to conclude that many great Additions must have been made to the Sinking Fund, and a very great Diminution of the National Debt; but they will be very much disappointed, when they look into the present State of these Matters. To save Gentlemen
some

some Trouble on this Occasion, I shall sub-
join an Abstract of the several Sums, which
have been taken from the sinking Fund,
since the Year 1721. (*)

Annual Pensions granted by his Majesty's Predecessors	36,200
To compleat his present Majesty's Civil List to 800,000 l. a Year	100,000
Produce of the Coal-Duty, for raising 1,750,000 for the Service of the Year 1728	70,000
Surplus of the Lottery-Funds 1714, for rais- ing 1,250,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1729	50,000
East-India Fund, for raising 1,200,000 l. for the Service of 1730	38,000
Salt Duty for the Service of 1732	185,000
The Remainder of her late Majesty's Civil- List Lottery in the Year 1713	16,400
Total per Annum	495,600

This annual Sum valued, according to the Representation,
at 25 Years Purchase, amounts to twelve Millions, three
hundred and ninety thousand Pounds.

The following Sums, which are not annual, have like-
wise been taken, at different Times, from the Sinking-
Fund.

Towards Payment of the Navy Debts in 1722	1,000,000
Given the South-Sea Company in 1723	2,000,000
To compleat his late Majesty's Civil-List to 700,000 l. per Ann. as before mentioned	144,000
It appears by a Resolution of the House of Commons in March 1727, that by a most un- heard-of Negligence the whole Revenue of Hawkers and Pedlars was lost, and never mis'd either by the Officers of the Treasury or Ex- chequer; a remarkable Proof of their great Care in the Management of the vast Revenue with which they are intrusted by the Publick!	36,600
Given for the Service of the Year 1733	500,000

Total 3,680,600

The Surplus only of the Coal-Tax
 was the first of the Duties, which, being
 made perpetual by the famous *South-Sea*
Act, of the 6th of the late King, for the
 Payment of the national Debt before 1716,
 was in the Year 1727 distinguish'd from
 being any Part of the Sinking Fund, and
 taken for the current Service of that
 Year.
 The Parliament having given way to
 this, upon a nominal Payment, as to the
 Public, of the Sum of 434,605 *l.* (the
 Debt on this Fund, that was subscribed
 to the *South-Sea* Company) the whole
 Produce of this Tax was taken the next
 Year to raise one Million, seven hun-
 dred and fifty thousand Pounds, which
 may be truly called an irredeemable Debt;
 since it appears by the Estimate of the
 Produce of this Tax delivered into Parlia-
 ment, that it is not sufficient to pay the
 Interest of this new Debt at 4 *l.* per
 Cent.
 As Precedents generally improve upon
 one another, so in the Year 1729 the whole
 Surplus of the Lottery 1714, above what
 was

was sufficient to pay the bare Interest only
 of the Sum subscribed to the *South-Sea*
 Company, was taken for the Service of
 that Year, and created another irredeem-
 able Debt of one Million, two hundred
 and fifty thousand Pounds. Upon the short Relief given to the poor
 Manufacturers and Labourers, by taking
 away the Salt-Duty in 1730, another Ad-
 vantage was taken of the like Nature :
 For though the Salt-Tax was only one of
 the Funds appropriated to the Payment
 of the *East-India* Company, (the other
 being Part of the Stamp Duties) yet by
 the never-failing Dexterity of a certain
 Gentleman, on these Occasions, the
 Payment of all the annual Interest to the
 said Company was, from thence forwards,
 directed to be made out of the Sinking
 Fund; by which Means, together with
 the Reduction of the Company's In-
 terest, a new Fund was gained of about
 42,000*l. per Annum*, and upon the Cre-
 dit of it a new irredeemable Debt of
 one Million two hundred thousand
 Pounds

‘ Pounds was raised for the Service of
 ‘ the Year 1731.

‘ In the Year 1732, the Salt Tax was re-
 ‘ vived, to the great Concern of the whole
 ‘ Kingdom, and mortgaged for three Years,
 ‘ to raise five hundred thousand Pounds, for
 ‘ the Service of that Year. I shall not say as
 ‘ some do, that the View in taking away
 ‘ this Duty was in order to detach it from the
 ‘ *Sinking-Fund*; but it must be allowed to
 ‘ be a very dangerous and extensive Prece-
 ‘ dent, which seems to threaten all the Secu-
 ‘ rities of the publick Creditors. For this
 ‘ Tax now contributes nothing towards the
 ‘ Payment of the Debt for which it was
 ‘ first imposed.

‘ All Difficulties, on this Head, being now
 ‘ got over, it was no longer thought necessary
 ‘ to proceed by the way of distinguishing
 ‘ particular Branches of the Fund out of it;
 ‘ but a Sum of five hundred thousand Pounds
 ‘ was taken at once, for the Service of the
 ‘ Year 1733, out of the Produce of the
 ‘ *Sinking-Fund*; and that I may conclude with
 ‘ it, the twelve hundred thousand Pounds to
 ‘ be taken out of it, for the Service of this

‘ Year [1734] will probably be an Anticipation of the Produce of this Fund.’

The Payment of Deficiencies in the annual Taxes, which are made out of this same Fund, come next under Consideration: Which leads to the particular Hardships to the People in general, that attends the Application of this Money to the current Services, and to the cruel Absurdity advanced by the Ministerial Advocates, that the national Debt was turn’d into a *perpetual Annuity*. This and some other Notions, inconsistent with common Sense and common Honesty, that had been propagated to serve a particular Turn, induced the *Enquirer* to make the Nature of the *Sinking-Fund* intelligible to every Reader. As his Account is equally succinct and clear, it cannot be amiss to add it to what I have said of this Deposit, when I was speaking of its Establishment.

‘ The present Creditors of the Publick, whose Properties constitute the national Debt, lent their Money at diverse Times upon the Faith of particular Acts of Parliament, which imposed several Taxes for

' for the Repayment of their Principal and
 ' Interest; such as Soap, Candles, Stamp-
 ' Duties, Excise, Subsidies, &c. Every
 ' Lender had one or more Order and Tally,
 ' payable at the *Exchequer* in Course, as they
 ' were number'd, out of the Produce of
 ' these Taxes; some of which were to con-
 ' tinue till the Money borrowed upon them
 ' was repaid; and in some Cases, as in most
 ' of the Lotteries, there was what we now
 ' call a *Sinking-Fund* included in the Act of
 ' Parliament itself, by the Computation of
 ' an *annual Sum*, sufficient to pay the Princi-
 ' pal and Interest of the Money borrowed in
 ' a certain Time. In such Cases, the Parlia-
 ' ment always bound themselves by the
 ' strongest Clauses, inserted in the Act, to
 ' make good any Deficiencies of these an-
 ' nual Sums out of the next Aids in Parlia-
 ' ment, that the Creditor might, in all Events,
 ' be secure of his Repayment; and the Mo-
 ' ney, as it came into the *Exchequer*, was re-
 ' served there till the Creditor call'd for it;
 ' all the Officers of the *Exchequer* being sub-
 ' ject to the severest Penalties, in case of any
 ' Misapplication.

' The great Advantages of this Method to
 ' the Publick, as well as the Creditor, must
 ' be immediately seen. Every 500 £ or less
 ' Sum, being set off for Payment, as it came
 ' into the *Exchequer*, the Interest then estab'd;
 ' nor was a Million of Money paid off at once,
 ' and sent to Market for the Advantage of
 ' Stock-jobbers, and to the Loss of the poor
 ' Creditor, as it is at present; but he could
 ' judge before-hand about what Time he
 ' should receive his Money, which enabled
 ' him to make Provision for putting it out
 ' again to Interest, in the same Manner as
 ' Persons now do, who lend their Money on
 ' the Land-Tax; for there is no Difference
 ' between these and the others, but in the
 ' Time of the Repayment of their Money.

' This was formerly the Case of all the
 ' public Creditors, except the Annuity-holders,
 ' whose Principal was to be sunk at the
 ' End of a certain Term of Years: And
 ' though they were deluded with the Hopes
 ' of great imaginary Advantages to sub-
 ' scribe their Debts into the *South-Sea Com-*
 ' pany, upon the Credit of that famous
 ' Act, which may be called the great Char-

ter

of national Faith between the Public and
 their Creditors; yet I can answer for my
 self and many others, that we were very
 far from intending, by that Subscription, to
 give up, or in the least to weaken, the
 Right we had to our Securities, by virtue
 of those particular Acts of Parliament,
 on the Credit of which we originally lent
 our Money. On the contrary, we had
 Reason to hope that our Properties would
 receive a new Security by this Incorpor-
 ration, according to the common Maxim,
vis unita fortior; nay, in order to give
 the Creditors this Satisfaction, the seve-
 ral Acts of Parliament, on which their
 Debts are founded, are recited in the
South-Sea Act, and made perpetual, to
 render their Repayment more certain.
 The whole Produce of all the Taxes so
 mentioned, is plainly appropriated to its
 former Uses, the "Payment of the na-
 tional Debt, contracted before *Christmas*
 "1716, and to no other Use whatsoever;"
 as appears by the whole Tenour of the
 Act, and many express Clauses in it.

' The Surplus of these Taxes, after the
 ' Interest of the Debt is paid, constitutes
 ' the *Sinking Fund*, which is commonly
 ' distinguished under three Heads, the *Ag-*
 ' *gregate*, the *South-Sea*, and the *General*
 ' *Fund*; with some Additions, which it re-
 ' ceives from the Act of the 7th of the
 ' late Queen, for enlarging the Capital of
 ' the *Bank*, and the 12th of the same
 ' Reign, for raising 1,200,000 *l.* for pub-
 ' lic Uses. These last Acts are reinforced,
 ' and some few Duties more added to the
 ' Fund, by the Act of the 1st of his late
 ' Majesty, which establishes the aggregate
 ' Fund.

' But it is well known that the great
 ' Increase of the Sinking-Fund arises from
 ' the Creditors consenting to a Reduction
 ' of their Interest, at different Times, from
 ' 6 to 4 *per Cent.*

' This being the Case, no Man surely
 ' will deny that the public Creditors, ei-
 ' ther in the Bank or *South-Sea* Company,
 ' have the same Right to their Securities, in
 ' their collective Capacity, as they had singly,
 ' when every Man had the Title to his
 ' Mortgage

Mortgage on any of the Taxes, by an
 Order and Tally, in his own Possession; as
 the Creditors on the Land-Tax now have,
 I believe no-body thinks that it would
 be for the public Utility to apply all the
 Money, more than what is sufficient to
 pay the Interest on these Loans, to any
 other Use; and when we read, in Acts
 of Parliament, that any Surplusses are re-
 served for the Disposition of Parliament,
 the Meaning is Surplusses after the *Prin-*
cipal and *Interest* of the Debt are paid, or
 any Surplus exceeding the annual Sum ap-
 propriated by Parliament for the Payment
 of the Sum borrowed in any certain Num-
 ber of Years, as before-mentioned. The
 like Clause in any Act of Parliament, since
 the Subscription of the public Debt to the
South-Sea Company, can have no other
 Meaning and Intention than to give the
 Parliament a Power of applying the Sinking-
 Fund to the Payment of any of the national
 Debts contracted before 1716, which they
 shall judge most proper and convenient.
 But let us suppose that, in drawing an
 Act of such Length and Variety as the
South-Sea Act, there should be any doubt-

' ful Expressions, which may by corrupt
 ' and litigious Lawyers be construed to the
 ' Disadvantage of the public Creditors;
 ' they must, in this Case, rely on, the
 ' Honour and Justice of Parliament,
 ' whose Protection they have merited
 ' in an especial Manner, by subscribing
 ' their Estates for the Benefit of the Pub-
 ' lic, in order to promote the more speedy
 ' Payment of the national Debt. It is not
 ' therefore to be presumed, that the Legisla-
 ' ture will countenance any Insinuations,
 ' as if the public Creditors had now a less
 ' Security than they had formerly for the
 ' Repayment of their Principal; since such
 ' Doctrines strike at the Foundation of na-
 ' tional Credit, Faith and Justice, on the
 ' Basis of which all Property stands, and
 ' no Part of it can be shaken without put-
 ' ting the whole in danger.

' But the Interest of the whole Nation,
 ' in the speedy Payment of the present
 ' Debt, is a farther Security to the public
 ' Creditors; for this is the only Method
 ' of delivering ourselves from those heavy
 ' and grievous Taxes we now labour under,
 ' which inhance the Price of all the Necess-
 ' saries

' faries of Life, and endanger the Loss of
 ' many beneficial Branches of Trade, by
 ' disabling our Manufacturers to work
 ' as cheap as other Nations. Besides,
 ' a long Continuance of them may tempt
 ' some bold and ambitious Prince, who
 ' may hereafter arise, to seize so great and
 ' tempting a Revenue, already settled and
 ' collected by Law; which would make
 ' the Liberties of the Kingdom an easy
 ' Prey. No Lover of his Country can
 ' therefore be too earnest in his Desires to
 ' see the Abolition of them; nor can any
 ' Man deserve better than by a Zeal and
 ' Firmness in pursuing this true Interest
 ' of the Public.

' It is Encouragement enough for Gen-
 ' tlemen to do this, when they consider
 ' that every Sum, applied to the Payment
 ' of the public Debt, contributes something
 ' to their Relief. Let us suppose, for In-
 ' stance, one Million paid off. This Sum
 ' is not only a Gain to the Nation of forty
 ' thousand Pounds a Year; but it is daily
 ' increasing by compound Interest. Where-
 ' as, when the same Sum is otherwise ap-
 ' ply'd,

ply'd, it creates a new Debt of forty thousand Pounds a Year.

He then shews the Difference between taking the Sinking-Fund, and thereby contracting irredeemable Debts, and raising Money by new Taxes; the Improbability that any Minister, while the People were not convinced of any urgent Necessity for such very large Supplies, would have had the Resolution to raise them by new Taxes; the Hardships that would accrue to the old Creditors of the Public, if the Government should be obliged to contract new Debts at a higher Interest than it paid these old Creditors; sets forth the dangerous Consequences that attend any Invasion of Property, which he calls the Essence of a free Government; and instances in the Case of *Sweden*, where the College of *Reduction and Liquidation*, established for relieving the Necessities of the Government, and discharging the vast Debts contracted in the War, occasioned the Destruction of Property in the People, and the Ruin of Liberty.—Certainly such Reflections can never be unreasonable, when the same Measures are
thought

thought to be pursuing, or the History of Measures suspected to be the same is relating.

Will not every Reader be surpris'd, when he considers the present Largeness of the publick Debt, and looks over the Scheme subjoin'd, which shews what Progress the *Sinking-Fund* would have made in lessening that Debt, in case it had been applied to that Service, and that only according to the original Intention? * This Scheme extends only to

* The annual Sum of 36,200*l.* for former Pensions, from *Michaelmas* 1720 to the 24th of *June* 1727, reckoning Interest at 5*l.* per Cent. and from the 24th of *June* 1727, to *Christmas* 1733, reckoning Interest at 4*l.* per Cent. would have paid off a Debt of ————— } 625,000

The 100,000*l.* per Ann. Surplus, from the 24th of *June* 1727, to *Christmas* 1733, at 4*l.* per Cent. would have paid off a Debt of ————— } 725,900

The 16,400*l.* per Ann. remaining of the Queen's Civil-Lift Lottery in 1713, from the 24th of *June* 1728 to the same Time, ————— } 98,700

In Part of the Million towards Payment of the Navy-Debt, 290,900*l.* from the 24th of *June* 1722, to the 24th of *June* 1727, at 5*l.* per Cent. and from thence to *Christmas* 1733, at 4*l.* per Cent. would have paid off a Debt of ————— } 479,000

The two Millions given to the *South-Sea* Company, for the same Time, at the same Rate of Interest, would have paid off ————— } 3,293,600

The 144,000*l.* taken at different Times from the *Sinking-Fund*, reckoning it at a Medium of 7 Years, at 4*l.* per Cent. would have paid off — } 189,400

Carried over — 5,411,600

to the twelve Years, enquired into by the Author I have been so much obliged to: What is farther necessary, I shall consider towards the End of the Section.

It appears, as every one must observe, that if the frugal Measures beforementioned had been pursued, there might have been paid off by these Savings, at *Christmas* 1733, near twenty-four Millions more than have been.

‘ It will now, I believe, says my Author, be very acceptable to the Reader, to see what Sum would have remained unpaid of the national Debt at *Christmas* 1733, in case the foregoing Sums, with the Produce of the Remainder of the *Sinking-Fund*, had been

	Brought over —	5,411,600
The 36,600 <i>l.</i> lost to the Publick, by the Duties on <i>Hawkers</i> and <i>Pedlars</i> , from the 24th of June 1723, to the 24th of June 1727. at 5 <i>l.</i> per Cent. and from thence to <i>Christmas</i> 1733, at 4 <i>l.</i> per Cent. would have paid off —		53,100
If We add to this the Annual Sum of 1,202,000 <i>l.</i> which, according the forementioned Estimate, might have been saved to the Publick, this Sum from <i>Christmas</i> 1721 at 5 <i>l.</i> per Cent. and from thence to <i>Christmas</i> 1733 at 4 <i>l.</i> per Cent. would have paid off a Debt of		18,273,900

Total £ 23,738,600

‘ been apply’d to this Service; and no new
 ‘ Debts had been contracted.

‘ The Account of the Debt, delivered
 ‘ to the House of Commons the 14th of
 ‘ *March* 1716, amounts to 46,613,100 *l.* and
 ‘ there then remain’d unpaid of the Navy
 ‘ Debt 709,096 *l.* These Sums make to-
 ‘ gether near forty seven Millions, three hun-
 ‘ dred twenty two thousand, two hundred
 ‘ Pounds.

‘ But, by an unparallel’d Management of
 ‘ the publick Money, the Arrears due to the
 ‘ Army were made to amount to above two
 ‘ Millions; which was so surprizing to the
 ‘ House of Commons, that a Motion was
 ‘ made in *April* 1721, to inquire by what
 ‘ extraordinary Means such a vast Debt was
 ‘ fix’d on the Kingdom; but, like all Mo-
 ‘ tions of that Kind, had a Negative put
 ‘ upon it. This, with the Navy Debt, and
 ‘ some other Articles due before 1716, but
 ‘ not included in the Account from the Ex-
 ‘ chequer before-mentioned, made the Na-
 ‘ tional Debt at *Christmas* 1716, to be gene-
 ‘ rally computed at Fifty-one Millions; and,
 ‘ to obviate all Disputes, I shall add to it the
 ‘ Sum of 3,123,000 *l.* allowed to the long
 ‘ and

‘ and short Annuitants, on the Subscrip-
 ‘ tion of their Debts to the *South-Sea-Com-*
 ‘ *pany*; and then the Debt will stand as
 ‘ below. (*)

‘ It is thus evident, that by a wise and fru-
 ‘ gal Management (the only Mine left us)
 ‘ and without raising any more Money on the
 ‘ People than what they have actually paid
 ‘ since the Year 1721, the national Debt
 ‘ might have been reduced, at *Christmas*
 ‘ 1733, to 16,185,400 l.

‘ I believe no-body, who hath the least
 ‘ Concern for the Happiness, I may say, the
 ‘ Safety of himself and his Family, can turn
 ‘ his Eyes from this agreeable Prospect to
 ‘ what was really our Case at that Time,
 ‘ without

* The National Debt on the 24th of Dec,	£
1716, —————	54,123,000
There hath been paid off in Part of this	
Debt, from <i>Christmas</i> 1716 to <i>Christmas</i> last,	
by the Produce of the Funds themselves, or	
by the Sinking Fund, (not to trouble the	14,200,000
Reader with minute Particulars) above—	
Produce of the several Exceedings before-	
mentioned—	23,737,600
	<u>37,937,600</u>
Remains—	16,185,400

‘ without feeling the most sensible Grief and
 ‘ Indignation.†

Instead of near twenty four, little more than four Millions were paid off during that Period; and the remaining Debt, instead of sixteen, stood then at fifty Millions.

I have now done with a Piece, which I could have wish'd, as well for the Reader's more exact Information, as for my own Ease, had been continued to the Year 1742. That Deficiency I am next to supply, from the Estimates and Grants of the several Years, and the Publick Writings upon them.

For the Service of the Year 1734 were voted 20,000 Seamen, at the usual Rate of 4*l.* *per Month* each Man, all Charges included, and allowing 13 Months to the Year: Which makes the Expence of the Fleet this Year amount to 1,040,000 Pounds, The Charge of Land Forces for Guards and

† By an Account delivered to the House of Lords, in *February* last, (supposing the Payment of the Million to the *South-Sea-Company* to have been compleated) the present Debt is—

The Civil-List Debt	1,000,000
The Navy Debt, on the 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1733—	1,713,900
National Debts on the 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1733—	50,020,500

and Garrisons the same Year, amounts to 851,426*l.* which is 35,106*l.* more than the Year before. Besides this, 1,200,000*l.* was granted out of the Sinking-Fund, towards paying off the Debt of the Navy; and an equal Sum out of the same sacred Deposit was voted in this very Session [the last of the first Parliament of his present Majesty] upon a Message from the Crown to enable his Majesty to make such Augmentation of his Forces, by Sea and Land, as his Majesty in his great Wisdom should judge necessary, and to concert such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs should require. It is very remarkable, that in the King's Speech at the Opening of this Session, his Majesty declared, that he was *no way engaged in the War which was begun and carried on against the Emperor, and had no Part, except by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of it.* Yet the Necessity of augmenting our Forces, on Account of this War, in which we had *no Part*, was the sole Argument for the Increasing of the Supplies to about 800,000*l.* more this Year than

than the last : To which if we add the 1,200,000 *l.* taken from the Sinking-Fund, the enhanced Charge appears to be above two Millions.

Were we to enter into all the other extraordinary Steps of this Session of Parliament (as they were then deem'd) I should swell this Article beyond due Proportion. The great Number of Protests entered by the patriot Lords, and which are to be found in the Collections for the Year, will not only shew what Measures of the Ministry were disapproved, but the Reason of this Disapprobation. I shall give Extracts from only two of them; one on the Address to his Majesty, 'That he would augment his Forces, and concert such Measures as in his great Wisdom should seem meet;' the other on the Act to 'apply 1,200,000 *l.* out of the Sinking-Fund to the current Service;' both which belong immediately to my Subject.

With regard to the First, their Lordships, among other Reasons, dissent, 'Because they conceive, an Address of this Kind, empowering the Crown to raise

Q Men

' Men and Money, without specifying the
 ' Number or the Sum, is unwarranted
 ' by any Precedent, and of the most danger-
 ' ous Consequence. — Because the History
 ' of many Countries, formerly free, fur-
 ' nishes us with many fatal Examples of
 ' the Abuse of such unlimited Powers,
 ' whenever the States * of those Countries
 ' have transferred the legislative Authority
 ' of raising Money from themselves, by an
 ' ill-placed Confidence, into the Hands of
 ' a Few : — Because, though they have
 ' all possible Confidence in his Majesty's
 ' Wisdom and Justice, and all imaginable
 ' Zeal for the Honour and Support of his
 ' Person and Government, they cannot ap-
 ' prove of a Message, which, they are per-
 ' suaded, was both formed and advised by
 ' the same Ministers, in whom those ex-
 ' tensive and discretionary Powers are lodged
 ' by this Address; and they see no Reason,
 ' by any Experience of their *past Oeconomy*,
 ' to trust them with the arbitrary Disposal
 ' of

* Their Lordships instance in the *Cortez of Spain* and
 the States of *France*.

of an unlimited Sum; and as little Reason, from the Success of their former *Alliances*, to give any Approbation to *past Treaties*, which have never been communicated to this House, or a previous Sanction of any *future Treaties* they shall contract; especially since, by their Multiplicity, they have involved the Nation in Engagements with divers foreign Powers, inconsistent (as their Lordships conceive) with one another, and in so great Variety, they can by no Means be sure, that the best will be singled out to be fulfilled.

The Reasons alledged by their Lordships against the Second are, 'That the taking away, in this Manner, the whole Produce of the Sinking-Fund, has a Tendency to the Destruction of parliamentary Credit and national Faith, and is the more dangerous in its Consequences, as it is founded on a Doctrine newly laid down, that the Proprietors of all the Debts subscribed to the *South-Sea Company* have no Right to their Principal Money, but only to an Annuity of 4 l. per Cent.—That they look up-

' on this Proceeding to be contrary to the
 ' Contract, understood to have been made
 ' between the Public and those Creditors
 ' who consented to the Reduction of their
 ' Interest, in Confidence that their Principal
 ' and remaining Interest would be thereby
 ' better secured :— That the appropriat-
 ' ing Clause in this Act is, in effect, an
 ' Unappropriation of all the Money that has
 ' been raised this Year, and puts it in the
 ' Power of a Minister to divert any of the
 ' Supplies to whatever Purpose he thinks
 ' fit :— That this Method of unappro-
 ' priating Money, raised for particular
 ' Uses, frustrates and eludes the Wisdom
 ' and Caution of Parliament, in the original
 ' Grant of these Monies, which is always
 ' in Consequence of Estimates laid before
 ' the other House, and for Services speci-
 ' fied :— That this Clause gives Mini-
 ' sters such a Latitude to embezzle or mis-
 ' apply the public Money, as their Lord-
 ' ships apprehend to be of the most danger-
 ' ous Consequence; for the Accounts, if
 ' any, given afterwards of the Disposal of
 ' such Sums, may be impossible to be dis-
 ' proved,

‘ proved, though impossible to be credited :

‘ ——— That they conceive this Precedent to
 ‘ be more dangerous at the End of a Parlia-
 ‘ ment, and may be follow’d fatally for our
 ‘ Liberties at the Conclusion of future Par-
 ‘ liaments ; for they have little Reason to be
 ‘ sure, and as little to hope, that future Par-
 ‘ liaments will be like this, *unbiass’d, uncor-*
 ‘ *rupt, uninfluenced*, by the great Number of
 ‘ Employments they enjoy.’

All the public Writings on the *Country Side* were very free at this Time on the same Subject : And indeed great Reason did there seem for it ; for by a State of the national Debt, published the next Year, it appeared to be 735,610*l.* on the 31st of *December* 1734, more than on the 31st of *December* 1733.

For the Service of the Year 1735, the Army was increased from 17,704 Men, to 25,744 Men, and the Supply for defraying the Charge of them, together with the Garrisons abroad and Plantations, advanced from 851,425*l.* to 1,010,239*l.* no less than 158,814*l.* Difference. The same Year there was an Addition of 10,000

Seamen, which added to the national Expence 520,000 *l.* a Million was taken from the Sinking-Fund; and the Salt Tax, which in 1734 had been mortgaged for eight Years to raise a Million, was again, in 1735, anticipated four Years more, to raise half that Sum. In short, if we view only the Supplies of these two Years, we shall see a great Improvement upon those that preceeded them, the Account standing thus:

For the Year 1733, Salt-Tax	}	3,980,000 <i>l.</i>
and Sinking-Fund included		
For the Year 1734, the same	}	4,650,452 <i>l.</i>
included		

I should not omit, that out of the latter a Subsidy was paid to *Denmark* of 56,250 *l.* as stipulated by Treaty.

The next Year (the War, in which we had never intermeddled, being over) only 15,000 Seamen were allowed, and the Army was again reduced to 17,704 Men. In 1737 the Land Forces were the same, and the Seamen were reduced to 10,000.

As

As these, in Comparison with the Preceding, may be looked upon as two saving Years, and as in the next our Complaints against *Spain* might make an additional Expence in the Fleet necessary, I shall not here make any Remarks on either of them. In 1739 we engaged in actual Hostilities with *Spain*, which will be considered in another Place: For the necessary Expences of that War, if they had been *properly* and *effectually* applied, were what no *Briton* would or ought to have complained of, as it was entered into at almost the *unanimous* Consent of the Nation. And the Frugality in other Articles was so much of a Piece with what has been already specified, that it is needless to run through every respective Year. I shall close this Article therefore, relating to Money Affairs, with a Quotation from the Author of the excellent *Dissertation on Parties*, where is the following Picture of our *new Constitution*.

‘ The nett Revenue of the Crown, at
 ‘ the Abdication of King *James*, amounted
 ‘ to somewhat more than two Millions,
 ‘ without Land or Malt-Tax, and a Mul-

'titude of grievous Impositions and Excises,
 'since heaped upon the Nation. This
 'might have been so increased, as to an-
 'swer annually the great annual Expences
 'in which we soon after engaged. In this
 'Case, the People would not have borne so
 'great a Burthen as they did in the Course
 'of the two following Wars; at the End
 'of which they would have been almost
 'rid of their Load, instead of crouching
 'under a Debt of 50 Millions. How this
 'came to be then neglected is uncertain;
 'however, we began to borrow at high
 'Interest, to anticipate and mortgage, im-
 'mediately after the Revolution, and having
 'once begun we were forced to proceed in
 'the same Manner thro' two mighty Wars.
 'Formerly the whole Expence of the State
 'was borne by the Crown, and when
 'it grew too great for the Revenue,
 'the People aided the Crown, if they
 'approved the Occasions. These Grants
 'were properly Aids, no more; for the
 'Revenue of the Crown was engaged in
 'the first Place, and therefore it seem'd
 'reasonable the Crown should have the Le-
 vying

' vying and Management of these Aids, as
 ' well as of the standing Revenue. But in
 ' this, as in other Cases, when the Reason
 ' of the Thing ceased, the Thing continu-
 ' ed. A separate private Revenue, or *Civil-*
 ' *List*, was assigned; and our Kings, ever
 ' since, instead of contributing most, have
 ' contributed nothing to the Public Charge;
 ' and the People, instead of giving occa-
 ' sional Aids to the Crown, take upon them-
 ' selves the whole Load of the annual Ex-
 ' pence, ordinary and extraordinary, and
 ' stand obliged to make good all Deficien-
 ' cies, tho' they have no Share in the Ma-
 ' nagement of the Revenue. Our Kings,
 ' since the Establishment of the *Civil-List*,
 ' receive a Kind of Rent-Charge out of the
 ' publick Estate; at least, as it hath been
 ' settled for Life on our most gracious Mo-
 ' narch. If the Funds appropriated produce
 ' double that immense Revenue of 800,000 *l*,
 ' a Year, the whole is his, without Account;
 ' but if they fail, the entire national Fund
 ' is engaged to make up the Difference;
 ' yet are our Kings trusted with the entire
 ' Management of the Publick Estate.

' Now

' Now this new Settlement, which ap-
 ' pears absurd in Speculation, how wise so-
 ' ever it may have been thought contrived
 ' for Practice, hath had this evident and
 ' inevitable Consequence. As we have
 ' annually increased our Funds and our
 ' Taxes, we have annually increased the
 ' Power of the Crown; and these Funds
 ' and Taxes being establish'd and laid
 ' for Perpetuity, or for Terms equivalent
 ' to Perpetuity, in the Sense here intended,
 ' this Increase of Power must not only
 ' continue, but still increase, as long as
 ' this System of Oeconomy subsists. How
 ' this Increase of Power arises from the In-
 ' crease of Funds and Taxes, and the In-
 ' fluence of the Crown grows, in Propor-
 ' tion to the Burthen of the People, hea-
 ' vier, hath been explain'd so much in the
 ' Debates on a late detestable Occasion, *
 ' that much less needs to be said on the
 ' Subject here. If we consider, in the
 ' Increase of Taxes, nothing more than the
 ' Increase of Officers first, by which a vast
 ' Number

* The Excise Scheme.

Number of new Dependents on the
 Crown are created in every Part of the
 Kingdom ; (Dependents as numerous,
 and certainly more prevalent, than all the
 Tenants and Wards of the Crown were
 anciently ;) and secondly, the Powers gi-
 ven to the Treasury, and other inferior
 Officers, on Account of these Taxes,
 which are at least as great and as grievous,
 in this free Government of ours, as any that
 are exercised in the most arbitrary Govern-
 ments, on the same Occasions ; if we con-
 sider this alone, we shall find Reason
 sufficient to conclude, that although the
 Power of Prerogative was more open
 and more noisy in its Operations, yet the
 Power thus acquired is more real, and may
 prove more dangerous for this very Rea-
 son, because it is more cover'd and
 more silent. That Men began to see,
 very soon after the Revolution, the Dan-
 ger arising from hence to our Constitu-
 tion, as I said above, is most certain.
 No less than seven Acts were made, in
 King *William's* Reign, to prevent undue
 Influences on Elections ; and one of the
 Acts,

' Acts, * as I remember, for I have it not
 ' before me, is grounded on this Fact,
 ' *that the Officers of the Excise had fre-*
 ' *quently, by Threats and Promises, prevail'd*
 ' *on Electors, and absolutely debarr'd them of*
 ' *the Freedom of voting.* What hath been
 ' done, or attempted to be done, since that
 ' Time, in the same View, and what hath
 ' been done, or attempted to be done,
 ' both in the Reign of King *William* and
 ' since, to prevent an undue Influence on
 ' the Elected, as well as on the Electors,
 ' I need not recapitulate. They are Mat-
 ' ters of fresh Date, and enough known.
 ' Upon the whole, this Change in the State
 ' and Property of the public Revenue hath
 ' made a Change in our Constitution, not
 ' yet perhaps attended to sufficiently,
 ' but such an one however as deserves our
 ' utmost Attention ; since it gives a Power,
 ' unknown in former Times, to one of the
 ' three Estates ; and since public Liberty is
 ' not guarded against the Dangers that
 ' may arise from this Power, as it was, and

as

'as it is now more than ever, against the
 'Dangers, that used to arise from the
 'Powers formerly possess'd or claim'd by
 'the Crown. Formerly, Prerogative was
 'kept in Sight, and Provisions were made
 'against the Effects and Encroachments of
 'it, as often as Occasion required, and
 'Opportunity offer'd. They, who call'd
 'themselves Friends to the Government,
 'in those Days, opposed these Provisions.
 'They, who were Friends to the Consti-
 'tution, promoted them. That the same
 'Thing should happen again, in a similar
 'Case, we must expect. But as the Friends
 'of the Constitution, in Time past, were
 'not deterr'd, tempted, nor wearied, whilst
 'they defended it against Dangers of one
 'Kind, and by their honest Perseverance
 'deliver'd it down, not only safe, but more
 'improved, to Posterity; let us flatter
 'ourselves with this agreeable Hope, that
 'the Friends of the Constitution, at
 'this Time, and in all Times to come,
 'will be neither deterr'd, tempted, nor
 'wearied in the same generous Cause,
 'in watching and guarding it against Dan-
 'gers

Sigers of another Kind; and that they will
 deliver it down, in like Manner, to fu-
 ture Generations. Sure I am, there are
 Reasons, and those of no small Moment,
 why they should be, more watch-
 ful, more upon their Guard, more
 bold, and more incessant in their Endeavours,
 if possible, even than the As-
 sertors of *British Liberty* were formerly;
 and the Enumeration of some of these
 Reasons is an Article not to be omitted
 on this Occasion.

‘ As the Means of influencing by Pre-
‘ rogative were considered to be increas’d
‘ formerly, upon every Increase of Power
‘ to the Crown, so are the Means of in-
‘ fluencing by Money to be consider’d as
‘ increas’d now, by the new Constitution
‘ of the Revenue. Nay farther, these
‘ Means to corrupt, and the Proneness of
‘ the People to be corrupted, must con-
‘ tinue to increase, unless a Stop be put
‘ to the growing Wealth and Power of one,
‘ and the growing Depravity of the other.
‘ We are, to be sure, in no Danger from
‘ his Majesty; but if Advantage be not
‘ taken,

taken, in Favour of our Constitution,
 of the present most happy Reign, of
 the mild and beneficent Temper of
 our heroical Monarch, of the generous
 Principles instill'd by Nature, and im-
 prov'd by Philosophy, of his Royal Con-
 sort, it may be supposed, (for we speak
 hypothetically all along) that pretended
 Friends to this Government, and real
 Enemies to the Constitution, will get in-
 to superior Power, under some weak
 or wicked Prince; and then the Subversion
 of our Constitution, and of Liberty, will
 be the most easy Enterprize imaginable;
 because nothing can be more easy than
 to create an anti-constitutional Depen-
 dency of the two Houses of Parliament
 on the Crown; and because such a De-
 pendency is as real a Subversion of our
 Constitution as an absolute Abolishment
 of Parliaments.

Now these Means of Corruption have
 grown, or been increas'd, since the Re-
 volution, by the Establishment of the
 Civil-List, and the vast Augmentations
 that have been made to it, and which
 may

' may be doubled or trebled, in Times to
 ' come, upon such Pretences as they were
 ' made. They, who apprehended King
 ' *James II.* might be able to govern with-
 ' out Parliaments, or to buy Parliaments,
 ' if he wanted their Assistance, had good
 ' Reason for such Apprehensions, notwith-
 ' standing the Expence he was at, over and
 ' above all the ordinary Charges of the Go-
 ' vernment, in maintaining against Law a
 ' great Standing Army of sixteen or eigh-
 ' teen thousand Men. For King *Charles II.*
 ' whose Revenue was computed at no more
 ' than 1,200,000 *l.* gave great Alarm to
 ' the Patriots of that Age, who look'd up-
 ' on it, and spoke of it, as a Fund for
 ' Corruption. Now, if this Revenue could
 ' afford a Fund for Corruption, when, besides
 ' maintaining the Honour and Dignity of
 ' the Crown, it was to defray all the other
 ' Expences of the State, and among the rest
 ' those of a small Army, and a great Fleet;
 ' what would the same Patriots think of a
 ' Revenue of 800,000 *l.* or a Million a
 ' Year, applicable to the particular Ex-
 ' pences of the Crown alone, and not one
 ' Farthing

Farthing diverted to any national Use?
 They would have the same just Confidence, no doubt, as we have, in His present Majesty; but they would say, as we do, that so immense a private or separate Revenue may become hereafter an inexhaustible Fund of Corruption; and therefore that the Independency of Parliaments is and must be in real Danger, till some Remedies, as effectual against the pecuniary Influence as have been found against the Prerogatives of the Crown, are provided. They would shew that a small Sum, in Aid of Places and Pensions, of Fears and Expectations, might serve for the ordinary Charge of annual Corruption; and that a small Saving reserved every Year might produce a Fund, at the End of seven, sufficient for the extraordinary Charge of *septennial* and *national* Corruption.

But, if we suppose the *Civil-List* insufficient for these Purposes; or that some future King may join to so many ill Qualities, as leave him no Means of governing but by Corruption, a sordid Avarice that

R

renders

renders him unable to open his Coffers,
 even for this Use; yet will a very little
 iniquitous Cunning suffice to create Funds
 for Corruption, that may come in Aid of
 the *Civil-List*. Men are less frugal, when
 others are to pay. Our Kings therefore
 may become more apt to take, and our
 Ministers to advise such expensive Engage-
 ments, since the Load, in which the
 Crown formerly shared, falls entire on the
 People now. Besides, a weak Admini-
 stration may pretend publick Necessity,
 when private Inability alone hath form'd
 the Conjunction; and frequent and extra-
 vagant Supplies may be ask'd and obtain'd,
 to do, or undo, by the Weight of Money,
 what might have been attain'd by pru-
 dent Conduct. A wicked Administration
 may propose to impoverish the People, to
 render them as submissive as the Subjects
 or Slaves in some foreign Countries, and to
 beggar them out of their Sturdiness. For
 in such an Age as we may suppose, publick
 Money will be easily granted, and publick
 Accounts rarely or incuriously inspected.
 The Ministers therefore, tho' never so
 weak,

weak, may be impudent enough to ask,
 and able enough to get, frequent Supplies,
 on national Pretences, for private Purposes.
 The Consequences of this are manifold;
 for, in general, the more Money passes
 thro' their Hands, the more Opportunities
 they have of Gain; and, in particular,
 they may share, if they please, in every
 bad Bargain they make for the Publick:
 Thus an immense Subsidy given to some
 little Prince who deals in Soldiers, or an
 immense Arrear stated in Favour of these
 little Merchants of human Flesh, may be
 so ordered as to steal enough from the
 Publick to replenish the Royal Coffers,
 glut the Ministers, feed their hungry Crea-
 tures, and bribe a Parliament. And se-
 veral other Jobs may, in Aid of the great
 Aggregate Fund of Corruption, be more
 easily contrived under the present than
 under the former Constitution of the Re-
 venue. But the great Source of Corrup-
 tion, the Increase and Continuance of
 Taxes, unknown before the Revolution,
 hath, like the Box of Pandora, spread in-
 numerable Evils over this unhappy Coun-

' try; this hath added a Power to the
 ' Crown, which the inferior Ranks of the
 ' People, and the most useful to the Com-
 ' mon-wealth, have long felt, and the su-
 ' perior may feel. For a full Exercise of
 ' these Powers for the Improvement of the
 ' Revenue (that stale Pretence for Op-
 ' pression) might oblige the greatest Lord
 ' to bow as low to a Commissioner or
 ' some subaltern Harpy of the Revenue, as
 ' any Gentleman in *France* does to the In-
 ' tendant of his Province.

' But the Establishment of publick Funds,
 ' on the Credit of these Taxes, hath been
 ' productive of more and greater Mischiefs;
 ' than the Taxes themselves, not only by
 ' increasing the Means of Corruption, and
 ' the Power of the Crown, but by the Ef-
 ' fect it hath had on the Spirit of the Nation,
 ' our Manners and Morals; so that it is im-
 ' possible to look back, without Grief, or
 ' forward, without Horror; the ordinary
 ' Expences of our Government are defrayed,
 ' in great measure, by Anticipations and
 ' Mortgages. In Times of Peace and Pro-
 ' sperity, as we boast them, we contract

new

' new Debts, and create new Funds, what
 ' must we do in War, and in national Dis-
 ' tress? What will happen, when we have
 ' mortgaged to new Creditors that *Sinking-*
 ' *Fund*, which was mortgaged to other
 ' Creditors not yet paid off; when we have
 ' mortgaged all the Product of our Land,
 ' and even the Land itself? Who can an-
 ' swer that when we come to or near such
 ' Extremities, ten Millions of People will bear
 ' to be any longer Hewers of Wood, and Draw-
 ' ers of Water, to maintain the two hun-
 ' dredth Part of that Number at Ease and in
 ' Plenty? Who can answer that the whole
 ' Body of the People will suffer themselves
 ' to be treated as the poor *Indians* are,
 ' in Favour of the *Spaniards*; to be af-
 ' fign'd like those *Indians* to *Spanish Planters*,
 ' to toil and starve for the Proprietors of
 ' the several Funds? Who can answer that
 ' a Scheme, which oppresses the Farmer,
 ' ruins the Manufacturer, breaks the Mer-
 ' chant, discourages Industry, and reduces
 ' Fraud into System; which beggars so of-
 ' ten the fair Adventurer, and innocent Pro-
 ' prietor; which drains continually a Por-

' tion of our national Wealth away to Fo-
 ' reigners, and draws most perniciously the
 ' rest of that immense Property, that was
 ' diffused among thousands, into the Pockets
 ' of a few; who can answer that such a
 ' Scheme will be always endured? This
 ' whole Mystery of Iniquity arises from
 ' the Establishment of the Funds; the
 ' main Springs that may turn the artificial
 ' Wheel of Credit, and make the Paper Estates
 ' fastened to it rise or fall, lurk behind the Veil
 ' of the Treasury. And when a veteran
 ' Sharper is at the Head of it, he must have
 ' it in his Power to employ two Methods
 ' of Corruption, without any Incumbrance
 ' to the *Civil-List*. Such a ministerial
 ' Jobber, by the Opportunity of gaining on
 ' the Funds that he can frequently create
 ' (notwithstanding the excellent Provisions
 ' lately made against the infamous Practice
 ' of Stock-jobbing) may apply the Gains
 ' thus made to Corruption, in Aid of the
 ' *Civil-List*. He may corrupt with their
 ' own Spoils, whom he reduced to Penury,
 ' he may bribe others with a Whisper, ini-
 ' tiate them into his Mystery, to gain them,

and

and then secure them by a Participation
of the same Fraud and the same Profit.
Yet the meanest Grubs on Earth have
rais'd themselves by Stockjobbing to the
Rank and Port of Noblemen and Gentle-
men; so may Noblemen and Gentlemen
debase themselves to their Meanness; and
acquire the same Spirit, by following the
same Trade. That Luxury, which be-
gan under Charles II. is become now na-
tional, and we may apply to our Coun-
try what *Salust* makes *Cato* say of Rome;
Habemus Luxuriam atque Avaritiam,
publice Egestatem, privatim Opulentiam;
Luxury and Avarice, public Want and
private Wealth abound. Now, as public
Want, or general Poverty, will lay Num-
bers of Men open to Corruption, so will
private Wealth, especially, where Luxury
prevails, on some of those who do not
feel the public Want; for there is ima-
ginary as well as real Poverty. He
who thought himself rich before, and
would have been ashamed to participate
in Fraud, or yield to Corruption, may
think the Faults venial, when he sees

Men, who were far below him, rise
 above him by Fraud and Corruption;
 thus may Contraries unite in their Effects;
 thus may the great Thieves of the Na-
 tion do more Mischief, by the Practices
 they introduce, and the Examples they
 set, than by the actual Robberies they
 commit. *Plusque Exemplo quam Peccato*
nocent.

A great deal more might be said to
 shew that Money is real Power, and that
 Corruption is a more deadly Weapon
 than the highest Prerogative, in the Hands
 of Men who are Enemies to such a
 Constitution as our's is.

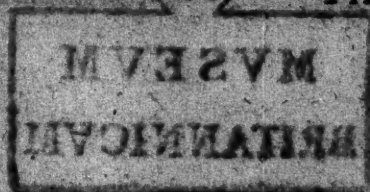
To conclude, If a Spirit of Rapine and
 Venality should increase under a bad Go-
 vernment, every Kind of Immorality will
 follow; till the Prince on the Throne
 shall not be able to say, of his whole Peo-
 ple, what *Philip II.* said of his Court;
They all take Money, except myself and
Sapena. We shall then be in that very
 Condition, in which alone our Constitu-
 tion, and our Liberty by Consequence,
 may be destroyed; that is, betray'd by
 universal

' universal Corruption. How near a Pro-
 ' gress we have made towards this State,
 ' I determine not. This I say, it is Time
 ' for every Man to contribute all he can
 ' to prevent the ill Effects of that new In-
 ' fluence and Power, which have gain'd
 ' Strength in every Reign since the Revolu-
 ' tion; and will ensure the Ruin of the best
 ' Constitution upon Earth, whenever the
 ' Men in Power shall think their Grandeur
 ' or their Safety concerned in the Ruin of it.
 ' We are not expos'd at present, most cer-
 ' tainly, to any such Contingency; but the
 ' bare Possibility of being so is a Reason suffi-
 ' cient to alarm every honest Man, espe-
 ' cially when he hears the Cause of Cor-
 ' ruption publicly pleaded; and when
 ' Men are suffered, nay paid by some-
 ' body or other, to plead this unrighteous
 ' Cause, as if it was that of our most righ-
 ' teous Government. Had we lived when
 ' the Star-Chamber, and many other ex-
 ' travagant Powers were exercis'd, and the
 ' Prerogative, by virtue of which they were
 ' done, claim'd as a Right in the Crown,
 ' we should have taken the Alarm, I pre-
 ' sume,

' same, as hot as our Predecessors did?
 ' Thus, Corruption may have been prac-
 ' tised in some Degree at all Times. But
 ' then it hath been always kept under by
 ' the Shame and Danger that attended
 ' both the Corrupter and Corrupted. It
 ' hath been always complained of, never
 ' defended, and Endeavours have been
 ' used, with general Applause, to prevent
 ' it. But according to the Principles now
 ' avow'd these Endeavours were unjust,
 ' ought to be repented of, and the Acts
 ' made in Consequence of them repealed;
 ' for the constitutional Independency of the
 ' Crown cannot be supported, unless the
 ' Crown have the Right and the Means of
 ' taking their Independency from the other
 ' Parts of the Legislature, by keeping the
 ' Members of these Assemblies under a
 ' pecuniary Influence. But tho' we de-
 ' spise the Preachers of this Doctrine, as
 ' we despise the Drummers and Trumpe-
 ' ters of an Army, yet we ought to take
 ' the Alarm they give; the Friends of our
 ' Constitution therefore are in the Right to
 ' join Issue upon this Point with the En-
 ' mies

' mics of it, and to fix upon this principal
 ' and real Distinction, the present Division
 ' of Parties; since Parties we must have;
 ' and since those, which subsisted formerly,
 ' are quite extinguish'd, notwithstanding
 ' all the wicked Endeavours of some Men
 ' to revive them. If there was great Me-
 ' rit, in opposing the Assertors of Preroga-
 ' tive formerly, there is greater Merit in
 ' opposing the Assertors of Corruption now,
 ' and in exposing the Means by which
 ' this more dangerous Expedient may be
 ' improved to our Ruin.

' On the whole Matter, it appears, that
 ' the *British* Constitution deserves, above
 ' all others, the constant Attention of the
 ' People who are so happy as to live under
 ' it; that since the Time, when all our
 ' Dangers from Prerogative ceased, new
 ' Dangers to this Constitution, more silent
 ' and less observed, are arisen; and that as
 ' nothing can be more ridiculous than to
 ' preserve the nominal Division of Whig
 ' and Tory Parties, which subsisted before
 ' the Revolution, when the Difference of
 ' Principles,



'Principles, that could alone make the
'Distinction real; exists no longer, so no-
'thing can be more reasonable than to admit
'the nominal Division of Constitutionists
'and Anti-constitutionists, or of a Court
'and a Country Party, at this Time, when
'an avow'd Difference of Principles makes
'this Distinction real.

S E C T. IV.

*The Excise and other Schemes, reputed de-
structive of the People's Liberty, and sub-
versive of the Constitution.*

NEVER, in the Memory of Man,
was the Nation so alarm'd at the
Design of a Minister, as in the Case of the
projected *Excise* on Wine and Tobacco in
1733. He had begun, so long ago as the
Year 1724, to increase the Number of
Excises, by changing the Customs on Coffee,
Tea,



Tea, and Chocolate, to an Inland Duty. He had brought the Salt-Duty, after he had detach'd it from the Sinking-Fund, and remitted it a short Time, to sooth the People, under the same Regulation. This last Alteration gave some Alarm, tho' the first had pass'd off very easily. It is to be observed, that the Word *Excise* was never used, by him, on these Occasions. The People were to be prepared for the new Inland Duty by a softening Pamphlet, entitled, *Some General Considerations concerning the Alteration and Improvement of the public Revenues*. But for some Months before it was proposed in the House, it became the chief Subject of Contention between Court and Country Writers; and the *Craftsman*, in particular, gave such a History and Picture of Excises in his *Weekly Essays*, as rais'd in the People most terrible Apprehensions concerning the Extension of them. These Papers were collected together, and publish'd under the Title of *Arguments against Excises*. They had their Effect: The whole Nation expected, and were ready to oppose, this ministerial Production.

When

When the Parliament met, it was every Week expected that Sir R. W. would lay his Scheme before the Commons, and very broad Hints were thrown out upon that Subject. At last, on the 23^d of February, in a Committee upon the Supplies, the Minister made a Motion for issuing and applying 500,000*l.* out of the *Sinking-Fund*, towards the current Service of the Year. This occasion'd a Debate, which was open'd by Mr. *Pulteney*; who happening to say, that, 'tho' he was aware of the Motion now made by the honourable Gentleman sitting near him, yet he was in hopes that what he had now moved for, was not all that he was to open that Day at the Committee; and then mentioning the *Excise Project*, and painting it in the most frightful Colours, almost all the Gentlemen who spoke after, on both Sides, made a Digression from the Point under Consideration to that in *Expectation*, and anticipated the Argument before the Proposition was made. In all Probability, however, it was made the sooner on this Occasion; the Country Gentlemen insisting on it while the House was full,

and

and before the Members were tired with Attendance. The Call of the House having been fixed to the 7th of *March*, Sir *R. W.* then proposed that Day seven-night for resolving into a Committee of the whole House, 'to consider of the most proper Methods for the better Security and Improvement of the Duties and Revenues already charged upon, and payable from, Tobacco and Wine.'

On the 14th of *March*, the Commissioners of the Customs and of the Excise attending, pursuant to an Order of the preceding Day, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* opened and explain'd his Scheme in a long and laboured Speech, which occasioned the most interesting Debates that could happen in a *British* House of Commons. It held till two o'Clock the next Morning, when the Question being put, 'for determining the present Duties on Wine and Tobacco, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, 266 against 205. The other Resolutions, subsequent to this, 'for altering the Customs to an inland Duty on those Commodities, and appropriating this inland Duty to the same Uses as the

§ 2

' Customs.'

‘ Customs;’ were passed without a Division. Thus did the Excise-Scheme triumph for the first Day, and even on the 16th, upon the Report from the Committee, after another long Debate, it was agreed to by much the same Majority, when it was ordered, that a Bill should be brought in pursuant to the said Resolutions:— As the History of this Bill will be ever memorable in Great-Britain, I shall give an Abstract of it from the *Historical Register* for that Year, and then proceed to the Arguments used for and against it, both within and without Doors, as the only Means of giving a just Notion of the whole Affair.

‘ This famous Bill was brought in the 4th of April, and read a first Time, after which Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his Majesty’s Command, acquainted the House that his Majesty consented to their making such Alterations as they should think fit for the publick Service, in relation to the Subsidy on Tobacco then payable on account of his Majesty’s Civil-List. It was next objected that some Parts of the said Bill were

‘ not

not within the Resolutions of the House,
 pursuant to which the said Bill had been or-
 der'd to be brought in; and therefore moved
 that the Bill should be withdrawn; which
 passed in the Negative, 232 against 176.
 Then a Motion was made for adjourning,
 which likewise passed in the Negative:
 At last it was resolved that the Bill should
 be read a second Time, and ordered,
 That it should be read a second Time on
 that Day seven night, 236 against 200.
 Next Day after the bringing in of this
 Bill, a Motion was made for the printing
 such a Number of Copies as should be
 sufficient for the Use of the Members of
 this House; but upon the Question's
 being put, it passed in the Negative, 128
 against 112.
 As this Bill very much concerned the
 Trade and Commerce of this Nation,
 the Lord Mayor of the City of London
 procured a Copy of it soon after it was
 brought into the House of Commons,
 and having laid it before the Common
 Council, it was there resolved to petition
 the House against it, and a Petition be-

ing then immediately drawn up and agreed to, the same was presented to the House of Commons on the 10th Day of April.

The presenting of this Petition brought the Excise-Scheme again upon the Carpet in that honourable House. The City of London has always enjoyed this Privilege, that any Petition from them is presented to the House by their Sheriffs, and is brought up by the Clerk of the House, and read at the Table, without asking the Leave of the House for that Purpose; whereas all other Petitions must be presented by a Member of the House, and cannot be by him brought up, or read at the Table by the Clerk, till Leave be first asked of and granted by the House. Accordingly this Petition was brought up and read at the Table, and as soon as it was read, Sir *J—n B——d* got up, and in a Speech full of that Strength of Reason and Perspicuity of Expression which he is so much Master of, he shewed how much the City and Citizens of London, as well as all the other trading Part of the

the Nation, would be affected by the Bill for altering the Method of raising the Duties payable upon Tobacco, and how just Reasons they had to insist upon being heard by their Council against it, and concluded with a Motion for granting them Leave to be heard by their Council, if they thought fit.

In Opposition to this Motion, it was insisted on, that it had always been the Practice of that House, never to receive any Petitions, and much less to admit Council to be heard against any Bill for imposing of Taxes upon the Subject; for that if any such Thing were to be admitted of, it would be impossible ever to pass any such Bill; because there would be so many different Petitions presented against it by those who were to be subject thereto, that it would be impossible to hear Council separately upon every such Petition within the usual Time of the Continuance of one Session of Parliament: And that in refusing to admit Council to be heard, there could be no Inconvenience, because every Man, and

' every Body of Men had their Representa-
 ' tives in that House, who certainly would
 ' represent their Case to the House, if any
 ' particular Hardship was to be put upon
 ' them by any Bill then before the House.

' To this it was replied, that the House
 ' had never pretended to any general Cust-
 ' tom of refusing Petitions, except against
 ' those Bills which were called Money Bills,
 ' that was to say, such Bills as were brought
 ' in for raising Money for the current Ser-
 ' vice of the Year; and that even as to them
 ' there were many Precedents where the
 ' House had admitted the Parties whom
 ' they thought to have a real Interest there-
 ' in, to be heard by their Counsel against the
 ' passing of such Bills: That the admitting
 ' of Counsel even in such Cases could never
 ' prevent the passing such Bills, because the
 ' House could always order all Parties pe-
 ' titioning to be heard at one Time, and
 ' could give such Directions that it would
 ' never take up many Days to hear e-
 ' very thing that could be objected by
 ' every one of the Parties petitioning:
 ' that tho' every Part of the Nation had
 ' their

' their Representatives in that House, yet it
 ' was well known, that speaking in Publick
 ' was a Talent that every Man was not en-
 ' dow'd with; from whence it might hap-
 ' pen, that the particular Persons, or Part
 ' of the Nation, which was then to be ag-
 ' grieved by what was passing in the House,
 ' might not have any such Members as
 ' were proper to lay their Case fully and
 ' clearly before the House; and that there-
 ' fore, even as to Money Bills, it was proper
 ' to admit Parties to be heard against them,
 ' when it appeared that they were very
 ' particularly interested therein.

' But as to the Case then before them,
 ' there was not the least Pretence for refus-
 ' ing the Desire of the Petition, because
 ' the Bill, against which it was presented
 ' was no Money-Bill; it was granted by
 ' the Advocates for the Bill; it was even
 ' insisted on as the greatest Argument for
 ' it, that there was no new Duties to be
 ' imposed; it was a Bill only for altering
 ' the Method of collecting the Taxes al-
 ' ready imposed, and therefore it could
 ' never be pretended that there was any
 ' Practice

' Practice or Custom of the House for re-
 ' fusing to admit Parties interested to be
 ' heard against such a Bill: That if there
 ' had been such a Custom introduced, it
 ' ought not to be observed; especially when
 ' such a considerable Body as the Lord
 ' Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council
 ' of the City of *London*, come with an
 ' humble Petition to be heard against a Bill,
 ' which they thought would not only be
 ' highly injurious to them in particular, but
 ' destructive of the Trade and Commerce
 ' of the whole Nation.

' In this Debate there were many Pre-
 ' cedents brought by Mr. *S---*, Mr.
 ' *G---b---n*, and Mr. *B---le*, where
 ' the House had received Petitions and
 ' admitted Counsel to be heard against
 ' Money Bills; and there were likewise Pre-
 ' cedents brought by Sir *W---m Th---ge*,
 ' and Mr. *W---on*, where the same had
 ' been refused, the Reading of which took
 ' up great Part of the Day.

' This Debate lasted some Time, but on the
 ' Question's being put for allowing the Peti-
 ' tioners to be heard by their Counsel against
 ' the

‘ the Bill, there was a Division, and the
 ‘ Question was carried in the Negative,
 ‘ 214 against 197.

‘ After which it was ordered that the said
 ‘ Petition should lie upon the Table, until
 ‘ the said Bill should be read a second Time.

‘ Next Day, *Wednesday* the 11th of *April*,
 ‘ the Order of the Day being read for the
 ‘ second Reading of the said Bill, the Ser-
 ‘ jeant at Arms attending the House was
 ‘ of Course ordered to go with the Mace
 ‘ into *Westminster-Hall*, and the Courts
 ‘ there, and into the Court of Requests,
 ‘ and the Places adjacent, and summon the
 ‘ Members there to attend the Service of
 ‘ the House; and he being returned, in-
 ‘ stead of reading the Bill a second Time,
 ‘ a Motion was made by Mr. C——r of the
 ‘ E——r, that the Bill should be read a se-
 ‘ cond Time upon the 12th Day of *June*
 ‘ then next: Tho’ by this Motion it evi-
 ‘ dently appeared that the Bill was to be
 ‘ dropt, yet some of the Gentlemen who
 ‘ had from the Beginning appeared strenu-
 ‘ ously against the whole Scheme, were not
 ‘ satisfied with letting it drop in so easy a
 ‘ Manner,

Manner, and therefore they were for having
 it rejected; but this Proposition did not
 come to a Motion, much less to the
 Question; so that the first Motion was
 agreed to without Opposition; and upon
 the *Friday* after, which was the Day ap-
 pointed for the House to resolve itself in-
 to a Committee of the whole House, to
 consider further of the most proper Me-
 thods for the better Security and Improve-
 ment of the Duties and Revenues then
 charged on and made payable from
 Tobacco and Wines, it was resolved,
 that the House would, upon the 14th
 Day of *June* then next, resolve itself in-
 to the said Committee, 118 against 76;
 so that that Part of the Scheme relating
 to the Duties on Wine was never laid be-
 fore the House.

There having been great Crowds of
 People about the House on the 11th of
April, and some of them having behaved
 in a tumultuous Manner, the next Day
 Complaint was made to the House by
 several Members, who had voted in Fa-
 vour of the Scheme, that a tumultuous
 Crowd

' Crowd of People had been assembled to-
 ' gether the Night before, and several Days
 ' during the Session, in the Court of Requests,
 ' and other Avenues to that House, and
 ' that they themselves, and several other
 ' Members of the House, had been last
 ' Night, in their Return from the
 ' House, menaced, insulted, and assaulted,
 ' by a tumultuous Crowd of People in the
 ' Passages to the House: Whereupon it
 ' was resolved and declared, *nemine contradi-*
 ' *cente*; 1st, That the assaulting, insulting, or
 ' menacing any Member of that House, in
 ' his coming to or going from the House, or
 ' upon Account of his Behaviour in Par-
 ' liament, was an high Infringement of the
 ' Privilege of that House, a most out-
 ' rageous and dangerous Violation of the
 ' Rights of Parliament, and an high Crime
 ' and Misdemeanor. 2d, That the assem-
 ' bling and coming of any Number of Per-
 ' sons in a riotous, tumultuous and dis-
 ' orderly Manner to that House, in order
 ' either to hinder or promote the passing of
 ' any Bill or other Matters depending before
 ' that House, was an high Infringement of
 ' the

' the Privilege of that House, was destruc-
 ' tive of the Freedom and Constitution of
 ' Parliament, and an high Crime and Mif-
 ' demeanour. 3d, That the inciting and
 ' encouraging any Number of Persons to
 ' come in a riotous, tumultuous, and dis-
 ' orderly Manner to that House, in order
 ' either to hinder or promote the passing of
 ' any Bill or other Matter depending before
 ' the House, was an high Infringement of
 ' the Privilege of the House, destructive
 ' of the Freedom and Constitution of Par-
 ' liament, and an high Crime and Mifde-
 ' meanor.

' Then it was ordered, 1st, That the
 ' Members of that House, who served
 ' for the City of *London*, should signify
 ' the said Resolutions and Declarations to
 ' the Lord Mayor of *London*. 2d, That the
 ' Members of that House, who served for
 ' the County of *Middlesex*, should signify
 ' the said Resolutions and Declarations to
 ' the Sheriff of *Middlesex*. 3d, That the
 ' Members of that House, who served for
 ' the City of *Westminster*, should signify the
 ' said Resolutions and Declarations to the

' High

High Bailiff of *Westminster*. Which Orders were accordingly signified by their respective Members, who next Day reported their having done so to the House.

This History is thus continued by another Writer (the Author of the *Craftsman*) who perhaps may not be thought equally impartial.

Whilst the Excise-Bill was depending, the Advocates for it insisted on the Multiplicity of Frauds, and that the Nature of them were such, as nothing but the Power of Excise-Laws could be able to prevent them. The Gentlemen, on the other Side, acknowledged there might be very great Frauds, and declared that they were ready to come into any Method to remedy them, not tending to the Destruction of Trade and Liberty, as they apprehended an Excise did. Hereupon one of the Representatives of this City, a great Trader in Tobacco, moved for an Account of Frauds in that Commodity for ten Years past, to be laid before the House, which appeared to amount to so trifling a Sum, that the Persons, who started the

Object,

' Objection, insisted no more upon it; but
 ' the Gentlemen on the other Side, having
 ' defeated the Excise Scheme, resolved to
 ' purge themselves from any Imputation of
 ' designing to countenance Frauds of any
 ' Kind. For this Purpose an honourable
 ' Gentleman proposed, that a Committee
 ' be appointed to enquire into the Frauds
 ' and Abuses of the Customs in general.
 ' But a certain Gentleman was very much
 ' perplexed with the Motion, but having
 ' stumbled the Thistles a while, consent-
 ' ed to the Enquiry, and it was resolved,
 ' That the Committee should be chosen by
 ' Ballot, a Method of voting originally de-
 ' sign'd to prevent all unwarrantable In-
 ' fluence; but what was his Conduct upon
 ' this Occasion? Why he summoned all
 ' his Creatures together, in a most unpre-
 ' cedented manner, and having told them,
 ' in a slandering speech, what a terrible
 ' Combination of all Parties were form'd
 ' against him, conjured them, in a most pa-
 ' thetical Manner, to stand by and support
 ' him against the Designs of his Enemies;
 ' for if they succeed against me, says he,
 ' I shall be O. the

'The next step will be to turn you all
 'out of your Places, to fill them with
 'Creatures of their own making. And
 'Then he went round the whole Assem-
 'bly, Man by Man, squeezing them very
 'feelingly by the Hand, and presenting
 'them at the same Time with a List of 21
 'Gentlemen (17 of whom were in Em-
 'ployments of great Profit) beseeching them
 'to vote for it, if they had any Regard
 'for him or their own Interest. By these
 'Methods he succeeded; and one of his
 'Advocates hath since very judiciously
 'triumph'd upon it. Let the World judge
 'how far such Methods are consistent with
 'the Nature of our Constitution, or the
 'original Intention of Ballotting.
 'I shall take no notice of the many
 'Pamphlets and Papers that were published
 'both by the Court and Country Party,
 'while this famous Bill was in the House.
 'Everyone knows, that the Sense of the
 'Nation ran so strongly against it, that the
 'Ministry gave it up, while they had it in
 'their Power to have carried it into a Law. Yet
 'the Projector or his Advocates were so te-
 'nacious

nacious of their Point, that they would not suffer the Dispute to subside, when they had even given up the Consequence of it. The Town were given to understand, that a Treatise was coming forth, which would entirely satisfy the *Public*, as to the Intention of the late Scheme, and it was hinted that the Author would be no less than *Right Reverend*. It was judged otherwise, however, when the Piece appeared. *Cannon*, since *Any* *Genl* of *Yea*, had the Honour of the Performance, which he was said to have written under the Direction of his Master *Horace*: It was called, *The Rise and Fall of the late projected Excise, impartially considered*: In answer to which came out another Pamphlet, printed for *Franklin*, Publisher of the *Craftsman*, entitled, *A Review of the Excise Scheme*. As the Affair had been then thoroughly considered, and argued over and over, these Pieces were thought by both Parties to contain the full Merits of their Cause, which I shall endeavour to state by impartial Extracts from each, with a few Passages from other Writings by way of Notes.

Confid.

Confid. The Scheme itself, and the Advantages or Inconveniences of it being entirely over, it only remains to enquire, who are entitled to our Resentments, (if any must be express'd upon the Occasion) those Gentlemen who proposed this Scheme for preventing Frauds, or those who, for the Sake of Opposition, would suffer those Frauds to continue still.

Review. Whatever Liberties he may take with these Malignants, who opposed the Bill, far be it from me to call in Question the Honour and Integrity of any Gentleman, who voted for it. Let his Words stand in their full Extent, that these Gentlemen were sway'd by no other Motive than the Good of their Country; yet, at the same Time, I must lay claim to a small Degree of Astonishment, that this political Ray of Patriotism should illuminate only one Set of Men, and that the whole Kingdom besides, both in Parliament and out of it, should be in a State of Reprobation, blinded with the Spirit of Opposition to their own Interest as well as that of the Nation.

Confid. The real Foundation upon which the Gentlemen for the Bill proceeded, was this and no other : They believed it both reasonable and beneficial to take off the heaviest of the Duties we now lie under, if this could be done, without laying a new Tax, merely by collecting the proper Duties upon Wine and Tobacco, already paid by the People in the Price, while the Publick is greatly defrauded.

Review. The People's Memory must be as unsound as the Excise Advocates represent their Judgment, if they have forgot that the Projector was so far from making any of his Excises a Foundation for taking off old Duties, that the Power and Profit which accrued to him by new Levies of Officers, in his first Attempts, encouraged him to proceed in the same Track, and revive old Duties, instead of taking off any which before existed. As for Instance, the Excise on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate was usher'd in by the same Projector with solemn Promises of great Ease to the Subject, and that it would prove a Means of discontinuing other Duties more burthensome. But how

how were these golden Promises perform'd? Why, by the Revival of the most heavy Tax, that ever was laid on any People; I mean the Excise on Salt. As the Revival of this Excise proceeded from the Excise on Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, so the intended Excise on Wine and Tobacco would undoubtedly have been followed with an Excise on Sugar and other Things, notwithstanding any ministerial Promises to the contrary.

Confid. The Nation confessedly suffers very largely by many considerable Frauds in the Duties upon Wine and Tobacco. The general and loose Examination these Goods pass under at the Custom-House, often in a great Hurry, when a large Fleet arrives at the same Time, has by no Means proved an effectual Method to collect the whole Duty upon them. Length of Time, and repeated Experiments, have introduced various Practices injurious to the Publick, which are now carried on there with great Skill and Dexterity.

Review. To this I think it may be answer'd, that the Nation can better spare Time than Money; and the Difference in Time between doing a Thing right, and doing it wrong, is not very great. It does not therefore seem reasonable that the Nation should be brought into an expensive and destructive Scheme, for the Sake of an Holiday, and some Hours of Afternoons Diversion to their Servants. — But why are these Officers corrupt? As to that, our Author is quite silent, and would willingly throw the whole Blame upon the Merchants and Traders who corrupt them; though it hath been fully proved that this Evil hath another Root, and is chiefly owing to the great Patent Offices held in Trust for Persons who never go near the *Custom-House*, but leave the Execution of their Duty to Deputies, with little or no Salaries; which they are obliged for a Maintenance to make up in Perquisites. These Patent Officers were established, and had Deputies allowed them, when the Customs were but *5 per Cent.* and consequently there was but
little

little Temptation for Frauds. † Another Reason for these Frauds is, that the inferior Officers of the *Custom-House* are not in the Nomination of the Commissioners, like the Officers of Excise, but are appointed by the Treasury; and, when found guilty of any Offence, are frequently supported by those who first recommended them. In this consists the only Difference between Excisemen and *Custom-House* Officers, as to their Probity and Conduct in the Collection of the Revenue.

Confid. *The Frauds and Abuses that do already appear from the Report of the Committee*
 The 4 appointed

† It is acknowledged, thro' the whole Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Frauds and Abuses of the Customs, that most of the Frauds and Abuses mentioned, have been committed by the Connivance of little Officers. If these Gentlemen could have found Time to go through their Enquiries, they might have traced this Iniquity to its Fountain head; as the other List, I am told, resolved to do, without Regard to Persons. They might have found, that some of the chief Posts in the *Custom-House* were Patent-Places, held in Trust for Persons who never go near their Offices, but leave them to Deputies, with little or no Salaries besides Perquisites, which is only a more genteel Word for Bribery and Corruption. It would have appeared, that *one Gentleman*, in particular, who enjoys two of the greatest Posts in the Administration, hath another held in Trust for him in the *Custom-House*, for two Lives, which annually costs the Nation more Money than all the Frauds in the Tobacco-Trade amount to for several Years past.

appointed to inquire into them, are very extensive and important. How many other Frauds, that from the Nature of them, which is to lie deep and close, must have escaped the Notice of a public Committee, 'tis impossible to say; but sure they must be very numerous, that Gentlemen, not at all conversant in such unjust Practices, should in the short Time allotted to their Inquiry be able to bring so many of them to Light.

*Review. I do not see any thing very wonderful in this; for can it be supposed that the Managers of the Revenue, who chiefly composed this Committee, by the particular Address of the Projector, could be totally unacquainted with the Frauds in the Collection of it; or, to use our Author's Words, not at all conversant in such unjust Practices? They had all the Advantages, which any Men could possibly have, in such a Case. * I presume it will not*

** The Committee begin with acquainting the House, that they proceeded with the utmost Diligence in examining the Matters refer'd to them. Indeed no Diligence seems*

be pretended that they were deny'd the Insight of the *Custom-house* Books, or any other Assistance, which they thought requisite to a compleat Discovery; besides the Evidence, which had been collected before with incredible Pains, as the very Foundation of the Excise-Scheme, and was particularly enumerated by the Projector himself, when he first opened his Scheme in the House.

Confid. Many Cargoes of real Wine are run upon all the Coasts of Britain, and vast Quantities of something called Wine, brewed by Coopers and Vintners, both which they sell at the current Price, though no Duty was paid for them.

Review.

to have been wanting to procure Information; for it appears that Smugglers, corrupted Officers, and Persons taken out of Goal, were produced as Witnesses. Nay, they had Recourse so far back as 1704 for one Instance of Fraud, and in several Places take Notice of Suspicions and Conjectures of Persons under Examination, instead of Facts attested by proper Vouchers. I don't mention this as a Reflection on these Gentlemen; no, I speak it to their Honour, to shew that they executed their Trust, as became their Duty to the House; yet they seem to be conscious, that their Discoveries will not entirely come up to the Expectation of the Publick; which they impute to the Want of Time, and the Extensiveness of Frauds and Abuses in the Customs; which I am afraid would, on Examination, appear to be the Case in other Branches of the Revenue.

Review. It happens very unluckily, that some Commodities already excised are the most run; witness Tea and Brandy, which must always be the Case, where the Duty is very high, and collected with the most Rigour. For the Truth of this Fact, I appeal to the Report itself; even that fair and judicious Report, which the Considerer quotes as Authority. It is true, indeed, that great Quantities of run Tea and Brandy are daily seiz'd; but we can never be sure that any Seizure of run Goods is not fraudulent, when the Duty is so high as to afford a sufficient Profit to the Trader, and a competent Bribe to the Informer. †

Confid. The very first Appearance of this Scheme looks so agreeable, that it is no Wonder Gentlemen, who wished well to their Country, should be pleased with it.

Review. This is so far from being true, that the very first Appearance of the Scheme **destroy'd**

† The Author proves this Assertion, by shewing how these Advantages may accrue, and affirms that Goods seized and condemned, which pay no Duty, are almost as prejudicial to the fair Trader, as run Goods.

destroy'd it; for it was no sooner seen than universally exploded; and though the Projector obstinately persisted in pushing it on to the last, it may be truly said that it received its Death's Wound from the Moment of its Birth, if not in the very Womb of its Parent.

Confid. Surely the endeavouring to levy the whole Duty upon these Foreign Commodities, which may be properly consider'd as Articles of Luxury; an Attempt to prevent injurious and fraudulent Practices in order to give Relief from Taxes that are felt most severe, is highly commendable.

Review. This is not strictly true; for the Commodities of our own Plantations are not foreign, in the same Sense with those of Holland, France, and Spain. I allow that it would save Money to the Nation, if there was not a Drop of Wine drank, and we could export our Manufactures, without taking Wine in Exchange for them; but this is not practicable, nor indeed desirable in our Circumstances; for
if

if every thing ought to be banished as Luxury, which is not absolutely necessary to Life, we must bid Adieu to Commerce at once.

Confid. Their Interest and their Ease lay on the other Side the Question; but the Friends to the Bill chose the most troublesome, because they thought it most beneficial to their Country.

Review. There is certainly no great Merit in a Minister's taking some Trouble, for a great deal of Power and Profit; but the Misfortune is that the Trouble, which this Gentleman so often gives himself, is always of such a Nature as the People would very gladly excuse. It consists in continued Attempts to lay new Taxes upon them, or making old ones more grievous to them, instead of relieving them from any Part of their present Burthen; and I think it very ridiculous to complain of the Trouble which he meets with upon such Accounts.

Confid. The Gentlemen for the Bill imagined it would be advantageous to the Publick,
and

and could not be improper in itself to put these foreign Commodities under a more particular Inspection, in Warehouses, and Places of Sale, only.

Review. The Words of the Bill are all Warehouses, Storehouses, Rooms, Shops, Vaults, Cellars and other Places, made use of for the keeping, cutting, stripping, or otherwise manufacturing any Tobacco. — However therefore some great Merchants, who have Warehouses separate from their Dwellings, might be free, in some Measure, from the Vexation and Slavery of such Inquisitors, I am sure this Assertion is absolutely false as to the Body of the Retailers, whose Shops and Store-Rooms generally take up the greatest Part of their Houses, and are so complicated together as to render them all liable to Inspection. For the Truth of this I appeal to the Druggists, Grocers, Distillers, and other Traders, who have already the Misfortune to be under the Laws of Excise.

Confid.

Confid. Their Desire to do the Nation Justice, induced them to think it could be no unreasonable Step to follow those open Delinquents the Smugglers into the Repositories of their run Goods; nor did it appear to them any Breach of English Liberty to attend the Sellers of fraudulent Tobacco, and the Wine-Brewer, in those Vaults and Cellars (for no House was to be entered) where his Compositions, frequently unwholsome, always fraudulent, were clandestinely made; that under such an Inspection they might be charged with that Duty for the Publick, which they constantly exact from their Fellow-Subjects.

Review. Whatever this Writer may think, it is certain that following the Trader into his Vaults and Cellars, or other private Repositories of Goods, whether run or not, is some Abridgment of English Liberty; and that every free and trading Nation will avoid it as much as possible. The Republicks of Holland and Venice, who are as careful of their Publick Revenues as we can be, never allow of any such Practices; and it is well known that the Officers in
France

France have no Power to enter and search Houses; so that our Excises appear to be of a worse Kind than those of other Nations, even under arbitrary Governments; and yet we are constantly told that we are the happiest People upon the Face of the Earth, and enjoy all the Liberty human Nature is capable of.

But we are assured that these Regulations were designed only against Smugglers and Wine-Brewers. Did the Bill then make any Distinction between the fair Trader and them; or are all the Dealers in Tobacco and Wine to pass under that Denomination?

Consider. They imagined these injurious Dealers might properly enough be subject to the same Law, which the honest Brewer of true English Beer is continually under, without any great Trouble to himself, Danger to Liberty, or Inconvenience to the Nation.

Review. This Argument hath just as much Force as the former, and is only quoting one Grievance in Justification of another. It is very true that the honest Brewer

Brewer of true *English* Beer (as the *Considerer* emphatically stiles him) hath been long subject to these severe Laws; and so are now many other honest Traders, of different Kinds. But what then? Does it follow from hence that these Laws are no Inroad upon Liberty, and Interruption to Trade; or that the Inconvenience will not be increased by the Extension of them? This Argument is another Proof that the Scheme had a more general Drift than the Projector thought fit to own; for I will defy any Man to shew that the Case of the Brewers might not be urged as strongly for converting all our Taxes into Excises, as well as those upon Tobacco and Wine.

Confid. 'Twas one valuable Recommendation of the Bill they brought in, that it was calculated, by lessening the Number of Oaths, to prevent Perjury; which nothing has more promoted than the frequent and common Use of them. It relieved the Trader from swearing to his own Books.

Review.

Review. It might be proper enough to ask, in this Place, who hath made the Use of Oaths so frequent and common, as it is at present? But, to wave that Point, Is it really true that the Tobacco Bill was calculated to remedy that Evil? No; tho' he talks so confidently of its removing the greatest Inconveniencies of our present Excises, the single Instance, he mentions to prove it, happens to be false.—What can be a grosser Imposition on the Publick than the Assertion that this Bill would have relieved the Trader from swearing to his own Books; when the express Words of the Bill are, That he is to swear to the Truth of every En try in his Books, and is obliged every Night to set down the gross Quantity of every lesser Quantity in one Book, and in another Book every larger Quantity, that he shall sell every Day of his Life? Can this be called lessening the Number of Oaths; or is making Men swear so minutely to their own Books the Way to prevent Perjury?

Confid. The very Time this Bill was brought into the House, when the Prospect of a

new Election was so near, is one Proof, among many others, that the Gentlemen for it, solely intended the Service of the Publick; and hoped, by preventing gross Abuses, and thereby easing some heavy Taxes, to gain the Favour of their Country. Unconcerned Spectators of great Wisdom and Impartiality are firmly of Opinion, that this Design of honest Popularity was their greatest Crime, and in Truth gave Rise to the Opposition.

Review. What a strange, unfortunate Creature must this Projector be, that all his Schemes of Popularity and gaining the Favour of his Country should have the contrary Effect, and end in universal Detestation? This hath been remarkably his Case, in all his late Undertakings; and most deplorably so, in that darling Scheme, which is at present under Debate. I believe, indeed, that he did not sufficiently consider what Influence an approaching Election might naturally have on the Fate of such a Project; and finding himself quite wrong in the Manner of timing it, would willingly have that pass for the Proof
of

of an honest Heart, which was certainly
 the Product of a blundering Head. *What*
Confid. It was necessary in the first Place
to spread a general Terror, and thus to in-
flame and interest the whole Body of the Peo-
ple. With this View, no Pains were spared,
no Arts omitted to affright the Nation with
the strange groundless Terror of a general
Excise. How groundless it was, hath
 been often proved, and the Considerer
 would do well to answer what hath been
 said on this Head, instead of repeating the
 same idle Trumpery over and over a thou-
 sand times. What is a general Excise but
 an Accumulation of particular Excises?
 And if he will please to add what were de-
 signed by this Bill to those which already
 subsist, he will find a pretty large Cata-
 logue; but as these witty Writers are apt to
 be troubled with short Memories, I must
 beg Leave to refresh them with a short
 Recapitulation. The following Commodi-
 ties are already excised, *viz.* Beer and Ale,
 Mum,

Mum, Cyder, Perry, and Sweet Wines; Malt, Brandy and all distill'd Spirits; Leather, Soap, Candles, Hops, Paper, Pasteboards, Mill-boards, &c. Silks and Calicoes; Starch, Hides, Wire, and wrought Plate; Cards and Dice; Coffee, Tea and Chocolate; Salt.——To these we must add Tobacco, Wine, and Sugar, which are all known to have been in the original Scheme; and then let the Considerer, or his Patron, name any one material, imported Commodity, which would have been left at the Custom-House, or unexcised, and no need

Consider it had been Time enough to raise Alarms when they found the least Tendency towards a Design to excise any Part of our Food, or enter any private House; but it was by much too soon for these Alarms, when it was certain there was no other Intention but to regulate the Duty upon two foreign Commodities.

Review. That is, in plain English, it is Time enough to struggle, when the Knife is at your Throat; a Maxim, which, in its full Extent, hath overturn'd, and will overturn

turn all the Liberties of Mankind. I like the Counsel of the Bird in the Fable much better; which was to pick up the Hemp-Seed, immediately after it was sown. To apply this Fable, Liberty is not half so much in danger of being master'd by Scalade, as by Undermining. — But to come a little nearer to the Point; Is no Part of our Food already excised? Is not Wine, by long Habit, become Part of our Food; even such a Part of it, as to many Persons, and in many Cases, to be not only convenient, but absolutely necessary to Life? Let our Author ask the meaner Sort of People, as well as some of higher Rank, and he will find that even Tobacco is considered by them as Part of their Food; or at least as useful to them as their Food. Let him consult the fair Sex, in the same Manner, whether they don't look upon Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, as a Part of their Food. I know all these Commodities are treated as Articles of Luxury by the ministerial Writers; and if they can persuade the Gentlemen of *England* to leave off drinking Wine and smoking Tobacco; or if the

U 3

Ladies,

Ladies, even of the Court Party, will agree to burn all their Tea-Tables, and submit to the homely Regulation of Old Queen Bess's Maids of Honour; I promise to give them no farther Trouble on this Subject; but, in such a Case, I must desire them once more to consider what would become of our Commerce, and consequently of the Revenue, which was to be so prodigiously improved by this Scheme. — I can go still farther, and defy them to prove that no Part of our Food, in the strictest Sense, is already excised. Will they pretend to say that Beer and Ale, Cyder and Perry are no Part of our Food? Can they affirm that Salt is not an absolute Necessary of Life; or that this Part of our Food is not already under an Excise; a Tax, which affects not the Great and the Rich only, but the poorest Farmer, Manufacturer and Day-Labourer? Not a Piece of Bacon, salted Beef, or Pork can they eat; not a Pound of Butter, a little Cheese, or even a Bit of Bread can they make, without contributing something to it. This, no Doubt, is a great Favour to the Landed Interest; and as to Navigation,

tion, are not all our Ships victualled with salted Provisions? Let any Man therefore judge what an Ease this Tax must be to our Commerce, and how likely to give us the Ballance of Trade.

As for entering private Houses, it appears from what has been said before, that almost all the trading Part of the Kingdom are already, or would have been, subject to this unwelcome Visitation, by the Execution of the late Scheme. It is true, indeed, that the Projector and his Advocates have lately been pleased to put this vast Body of Men upon the same Foot with Inn-keepers, Victuallers, and Retailers of Geneva, in order to subject them to the same Laws. The Traders, no Doubt, are highly obliged to them for this Favour, and I hope will take some Opportunity to return it; for, according to this new Doctrine, three Parts of the Houses in *England* might be enter'd at Pleasure, and yet the Projector might continue to insist that there was not the least Tendency towards a Design to enter any private House.

The *Considerer* then proceeds to condemn the Instructions and Representations, that were sent up from all Parts of the Kingdom to the Parliament-Members: Which the Author of the *Review* proves to be entirely agreeable to our Constitution, and conformable, as he shews by undoubted Authority, to ancient Custom, as far back as the Time of *Edward III.* He concludes with this memorable Paragraph.

Review. The Right of Petitioning and Instructing being thus warranted by the Practice of all Ages, it remains only to be considered whether it was properly exercised or not, against the late Excise-Bill; and here, I think, there is but little Room for Dispute; for if this Privilege is justifiable at any Time, or in any Case, it was certainly so, on that Occasion. Shall a wicked Scheme against the Trade, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, be set on Foot by an audacious Projector, and must the People passively submit to it? Shall the *British* Nation, who have spent so many Millions of Money, and lost so much Blood, in Defence

fence of their Liberties and Constitution, sit still and tamely suffer the galling Fetters of Excise Laws to be rivetted on their Legs by an Inventor of Cruelty, without any Struggles to relieve Themselves? God forbid! It is their Right, nay, it is their Duty, in all such Cases, to implore the Protection of those who are intrusted with their Liberties, and will support them, as long as our Constitution is preserved. They exerted this Right, in the late Case, with Prudence and Vigour, and therefore with Success. This is not only a Subject of Joy at present, but ought to give them Comfort, in Times to come; for I must agree with the *Craftsman* in hoping that these Methods will be revived in the same prudent and vigorous Manner upon all extraordinary Occasions.

And in Answer to what the *Considerer* says, that those Instructions were enforced by Menaces and Insults, and even endeavours to procure an *Assassination*, the *Reviewer* is pleased to be thus merry.

Review.

Review. Nothing renders the Projector more ridiculous than his continual Apprehensions of Plots and Assassinations, which seem to haunt him by Night and by Day, like a bad Conscience, and disturb all his golden Dreams of Power. A few Years ago a most horrid Conspiracy against him was providentially discovered by a Penny-Post-Letter, which put the poor Gentleman into such a terrible Pannick, that he alarmed his Neighbours at Midnight, and durst not go to Bed, till a sufficient Guard was planted round him. Some Time after this, a certain Vow of Destruction renewed his Fears, and presented a dismal Scene of Halters and Axes before his Eyes; but a little Ruffle in the Court of Requests last Spring, and the Intelligence he received from a certain Man's Shop, confirm'd all his former Apprehensions, and frighten'd him quite out of his Wits. He now concluded that his Time was come. The Case of *Julius Caesar* ran strangely in his Head, and possess'd him with a full Opinion that the Nones of April would prove as fatal to him, as the Ides of March were to the other.

I shall

I shall make but one Extract more from each Pamphlet, and then leave this famous Controversy to the Judgment of the impartial Reader.

Confid. The Gentlemen who meant only the publick Good, gave up the Bill for ever, rather than create any Hazard of public Disorders. They were conscious the Bill was intended well, and still convinced it might have been made very useful; but they generously chose to sacrifice their own Sentiments to, what they thought, the mistaken Opinion of their Fellow-Subjects.

When they first formed the Plan, their only View was to remove some heavy Taxes; when they entirely relinquished the Design, it was to convince the People of their Regard to public Peace, and the Deference they paid even to their mistaken Notions. The Design from which this Bill proceeded, the Ease of the People, was unquestionably good; and the departing from it, under such Circumstances, an Act of singular Modesty and Compliance.

Review.

Review. I think it would have been more proper to put it Gentleman in the singular Number; or, at least, Gentlemen in the *Greek* dual Number; for I don't believe there were above two Persons in the whole Kingdom, who were heartily concern'd for the Success of it; I mean the Projector and his Brother, though many of their Creatures had just Cause to resent their giving it up, after they had been drag'd through the Mire, in the Prosecution of it. But let us take the Author's own State of this Case. It seems then that as these two honourable Gentlemen had no other Design in proposing the Bill than merely the public Good, so their departing from it was an Act of singular Modesty and Compliance with the Prejudices of the People.— I am always pleased to see any Instances of Modesty and Compliance; which are somewhat extraordinary, as the *Considerer* rightly observes, in a great, overgrown Minister; but was this really the Case, with regard to the Excise Bill? I am afraid there was a little Spice of private Interest both in the
Design

Design itself, and the Manner of dropping
 it. It is here necessary to consider the Progress
 of this Affair from its first Conception to
 the present Time; for I must observe that
 it was no sudden Expedient, accidentally
 started to supply the current Services of the
 Government, instead of a Land-Tax, as
 the Projector and his Advocates pretend;
 but a deliberate, settled Scheme, which
 hath been laid many Years, and was to
 be executed by Degrees, as Opportunities
 offered, and the Nation could be drawn in-
 to it. About ten Years ago, the Projector
 gain'd a considerable Step, by the Excise on
 Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate. Some Time
 after this, a notable Treatise was published,
 intitled, *An Essay on the public Debts of this
 Kingdom, &c.* which was particularly pa-
 troniz'd by the Projector, and contain'd an
 elaborate Recommendation of the same
 Scheme. Nay, it is even said that the
 Person, who wrote this Piece, had the pe-
 culiar Honour of drawing up the late Bill,
 and hath received some other Marks of Fa-
 vour for his Services to the Public. In the
 Year

Year 1730, the Excise upon Salt was re-
vived, under the Pretence of taking off one
Shilling in the Pound on Land; and the
Projector declared, at the same Time, that
if Gentlemen would come into some pro-
per Regulations in the Manner of collecting
the public Revenues, he would undertake
to ease them from the other Shilling &c.

~~This Projector and his Advocates pretend
that a Land-Tax of 200,000 £. is laid for~~

* Every body knows, that a Land-Tax of 200,000 £. is laid for
500,000 £. which must have been raised on Tobacco and
Wine, in order to take it off the Land: But we must first
suppose, that the Frauds committed in the Duties on those
two Commodities, do amount to that Sum; and that an
Excise would have effectually put a stop to them. The mi-
nisterial Writers pretended at first that the former was the
Case, and the latter would be the Consequence; and even
the Projector was not ashamed to insist on both these Points
in the Letter to his Electors, with that unlucky Motto,
Magna est veritas, et prevalebit. He proposed to raise
200,000 £. of this annual Sum on Tobacco, and 300,000 £.
on Wine. But it appear'd, on Examination of this Affair
in Parliament, that the whole Nett Duties upon Tobacco did
not amount, *communibus annis*, to much above 200,000 £. a
Year, and the Seizures not to above 1400 £. a Year at a Medi-
um, from Christmas 1724 to 1731. And these Seizures have
continued to decrease considerably since 1728; at which
Time the Government was put into a Method of detecting
and preventing several Frauds in this Trade by that very
Body of Merchants, who have been since so ill treated.
Can then the Frauds undiscovered amount to as much as
the whole Nett Duty; or would an Excise have brought
them all to Light? Even the Projector, within Doors, did
not pretend to advance the Duties on Tobacco, by the Al-
teration, above 30,000 £. a Year; and other Gentlemen de-
monstrated, it would not really be advanced much above a 3d
Part

This was presently understood to mean an Excise; which alarm'd the City of London and the whole Nation to such a Degree, that they petitioned their Representatives, in the most earnest Manner, to oppose any such Design, and took all other prudent Methods to defeat it, before the Parliament met last Year. Yet still, the Projector persisted in his Scheme, against the Sense of the whole Nation, and the Advice of his best Friends. The dreadful Apprehensions of the People, which sufficiently manifested themselves upon this Occasion, were so far from softening his Mind, or altering his Purpose, that they seem'd to add new Vi-

gour.

Part of that Sum, supposing the same Importation and an entire Stop put to all Frauds.

But suppose the Duties would have been increased 30,000 l. a Year, still 470,000 l. would have been wanting to make up the proposed 500,000 l. in Lieu of the Land Tax of 1 s. which must therefore have been raised by an Improvement of the Duties on Wine. It appear'd by Accounts laid before the House, that the whole Duties upon this Commodity came to little more than 500,000 l. per Ann. at a Medium from Christmas 1724, to 1731; and the Seizures for the same Term, not to above 700 l. so that 469,300 l. per Ann. the remaining Part of the said 500,000 l. must have been raised by an extraordinary Importation of Wine, or by the wonderful Operation of this Scheme, in detecting all the mysterious Practices of the Wine-Brewers, and putting a Stop to those daring Delinquents, the Smugglers.

gour to his Resolutions, and determine him not to give Way. At last, indeed, when his boasted Majority was dwindled down to Sixteen from Sixty-one, he began to look about him, and found it necessary to prevent another Division, if possible. He therefore moved to adjourn the second Reading of the Bill for a Month; but some Gentlemen, who were not altogether satisfy'd with this Expedient, proposed a longer Day, and so the Matter ended last Session.

It is not my Business to dispute the Regularity of his Conduct, upon this Occasion; but I cannot see any peculiar Modesty, or great Merit in it; for though his Advocates are pleased to declaim very floridly upon it, as an Instance of his tender Regard for the Inclinations, and even the Prejudices of the People; there are other Persons as sagacious as they, who believe no such thing; but are fully convinced that his Compliance was owing to a very strong Probability, nay almost a Certainty, that if the Bill had been push'd any farther, it would have been thrown out in such a Manner as to preclude the Revival of it; whereas

whereas by adjourning the Order of the Day, the Bill is only suspended for a Time, and may be resumed upon some other Occasion.

That this was the Projector's Sense of the Matter, appeared from his own Mouth; for at the same Time that he moved for adjourning the farther Consideration of the Bill to a long Day, he expatiated very largely on the Advantages of it, and plainly intimated that he chose this Method, in order to prevent its being intirely rejected.

To sum up all in a Passage from one of the Writers in the *Craftsman*, which had been perverted by the *Considerer*——

‘ Let us suppose, says this Author, against all moral Certainty, that the late unhappy Project would have raised the whole Sum proposed; yet the old Question will still recur; Whether a People, who have expended above two hundred Millions, for the Support of their Liberties, within these fifty Years past, and still continue to pay above five Millions every Year, on the same Account, ought to give them up at last, for the Sake of saving five hundred thousand Pounds a Year, in
X their

their national Expences; especially when the same Saving might be easily made, perfectly consistent with our Constitution, by a proper Reduction of the Army, the Suppression of useless Offices, and the Resumption of exorbitant Pensions.

Having been so particular on the Subject of Excises, I must treat with more Brevity the other Points that come under the Denomination of *oppressive*. Of this Kind we must reckon every Restraint upon the Liberty of speaking and writing, and much more upon the Liberty of our Persons.

That the late Minister had ever projected the putting the Press again under a *Licensor*, as some have insinuated, is more, I think, than can be made fully to appear. He knew too well how far the Sense of Liberty had prevail'd, and how much he had to hazard in such a bare-faced Attempt. But at the same Time we must all own that tedious, expensive, and severe Prosecutions, Fines and Imprisonments, and all the Artillery of Ministerial Power, have been occasionally made use of to intimidate
from

from the putting this Liberty in Practice. The Instance of Mr. *Franklin* is very well remember'd, and several others might be enumerated.

And yet the same Gentleman, who set on foot those Severities, was at a certain Period one of the most zealous * Advocates for the Liberty of the Press, and made a more free Use of it than has been often done under his own Administration. For a Proof of this we need only turn to a Pamphlet published in 1713, entitled, *A short History of the last Parliament*, with this remarkable Motto,

Venalis Populus, venalis Curia Patrum!

tho' said to be writ in the Tower, while the Author lay there under a Censure for *Bribery and Corruption*. He that cou'd charge the representative Body of the People with having contributed to the Ruin of their Country, one would think should have little to say upon the Indecency of charging the same Crime upon any one Member of that Body! But as People have been apt to differ

X 2

with

with one another, and even with themselves in different Circumstances, about this Freedom of speaking and publishing our Thoughts, I shall insert what has been printed as the Sentiments of Mr. *Walpole* on this Subject, in the famous Case of Mr. *Steele*, when he shew'd, ' That this violent Prosecution struck at the Liberty of the Subject in general, and of the Members of that House in particular; justified Mr. *Steele* on all the Heads of the Accusation raised against him; and said he hoped the House would not sacrifice one of their Members to the Resentment and Rage of the Ministry, for no other than his Crime, exposing their notorious Mismanagements.'

To this if I add the *Craftsman's* Definition of the Liberty of the Press, as publish'd in his Paper, Numb. 2. and never prov'd to be erroneous, and compare both with what has happen'd, we shall be able to judge how far this Liberty has been indulged during the last twenty Years, and whether the same Man, when a Minister, is willing to grant what he claims when a private Gentleman.

By

‘ By the Liberty of the Press I mean, as
 ‘ I suppose every Body else does, an unre-
 ‘ served, discretionary Power for every Man
 ‘ to publish his Thoughts on any Subject,
 ‘ and in any Manner, which is not forbid-
 ‘ den by the Laws of the Land, without
 ‘ being obliged to apply for a Licence or
 ‘ Privilege for so doing. In short, where
 ‘ this Liberty prevails, every Author has a
 ‘ Right to print what he pleases, without
 ‘ asking any Body Leave, and without
 ‘ fearing any Molestation from Authority,
 ‘ so long as he keeps within his proper
 ‘ Bounds; which it is his Business to take
 ‘ care not to transgress. He knows the
 ‘ Laws of his Country; and if he rashly
 ‘ offends against them, he must submit to
 ‘ the Penalty.

And a little farther : ‘ The next Point to
 ‘ be consider’d is the Object of this Liberty;
 ‘ or on what Subjects it is supposed to al-
 ‘ low us to debate freely; and those can be
 ‘ only *Government and Religion* : For, as the
 ‘ public Welfare of every Nation depends
 ‘ entirely on these two great Articles, so
 ‘ they are the only Points on which any

Tyrant or arbitrary Prince would desire to
 restrain our Thoughts. We meet with
 no Instance, in History, of any Nation
 where the Subjects are prohibited from writ-
 ing on Matters of Indifference and Specu-
 lation, or from venting the Productions of
 their idle Hours. The most slavish Nations,
 where any Degree of Learning prevails, a-
 bound, as much as ours, with Books of mere
 Entertainment and Diversion; as we may
 observe in *France, Italy, and Spain*,
 where there is no Prohibition of Plays,
 Novels, Love-Letters, Travels and Ro-
 mances: But this is no Proof of the Li-
 berty of the Press in those Countries;
 nor would it be worth contending for
 here on such Accounts. What renders
 it so valuable and desirable amongst us,
 is, that we have hereby an Opportunity
 of writing upon Subjects of the utmost
 Importance; such as nearly affect our
 Consciences, our Liberties, and Estates.

I do not mean by this (as I have already
 observed, and would always be understood)
 Liberty to undermine the Fundamentals
 of Government and Religion, or to ca-

luminate

' illuminate Persons in high Power; neither
 ' of which ought to be tolerated in any
 ' Society: but a Liberty of examining the
 ' Principles of our Faith by the Test of
 ' Scripture and Reason; of declaring our
 ' Judgment in all disputable Matters; and
 ' of exposing the Corruptions, Impositions,
 ' and ridiculous Claims of some Clergy-
 ' men: a Liberty of giving our Opinion,
 ' in the same Manner, of all political Tran-
 ' sactions; of debating the great Affairs of
 ' Peace and War; of freely delivering our
 ' Sentiments concerning any Laws which
 ' are in Agitation; and of modestly offer-
 ' ing our Reasons for the Repeal of those
 ' which are found to be oppressive; a
 ' Liberty of setting forth Male-Admini-
 ' stration, and pleading for the Redress of
 ' Grievances; of exposing Mismanagement
 ' and Corruption in high Places, and dis-
 ' covering the secret Designs of wicked and
 ' ambitious Men.

Next to the Liberty of the Press, and
 very similar to it, we must look upon to
 be the Liberty of the Stage; which, it is
 well known, was entirely restrain'd under

the late Administration, and put into the Hands of a Licenſer. The poor Pretence for it was ſaid to be a Manuscript Piece, which the Projector got Poſſeſſion of at a high Price, and produced to his Friends, who immediately joined with him in the glorious Deſign of ſuppreſſing for the future all *perſoniſied Satire* on Men in Power. It muſt be own'd that the dramatic Genius of the Age, for ſome time before, did not appear with any extraordinary Luſtre, but in all human Probability, it will now for ever move in Shackles. While this Bill was depending in the Houſe of Lords, a Speech was made againſt it by the Earl of Cheſterfield, which gives a true Idea of the Nature of ſuch a Reſtraint, and at the ſame Time ſufficiently ridicules the Project of it.

After ſpeaking of the Precipitancy with which it had paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and of its being puſhed into an almoſt empty Houſe of Lords at the End of a Seſſion *, his Lordſhip proceeds, ' I have gather'd
' from common Talk, while this Bill was

* In 1737.

removing in the House of Commons, that
 a Play was offer'd the Players, which, if
 my Account be right, was truly of almost
 scandalous and flagitious Nature. What
 was the Effect? Why, they not only
 refused to act it, but carried it to a cer-
 tain Person in the Administration, as a
 sure Method to have it suppress'd. Could
 this be the Occasion of the Bill? Surely
 no: The Caution of the Players could
 never occasion a Law to restrain them;
 it is an Argument in their Favour, and
 a material one, in my Opinion, against
 the Bill: It is to me, a Proof that the
 Laws are not only sufficient to deter them
 from acting what they know would
 offend, but also to punish them in case
 they should do it.

My Lords, I must own I have observ-
 ed of late a remarkable Licentiousness on
 the Stage. There were two Plays acted
 last Winter, that, one would have thought,
 should have given the greatest Offence, and
 yet were suffer'd without any Censure what-
 ever.

Passion and King Charles I.

ever. In one of these Plays the Author
 thought fit to represent Religion, Physic,
 and the Law, as inconsistent with Com-
 mon Sense. The other was founded on
 a Story very unfit for theatrical Enter-
 tainment at this Time, of a Day, and Story
 so recent in the Minds of Englishmen,
 and of so solemn a Nature, that it ought
 to be touched upon only in the Pulpit.
 The Stage may want Regulation, the
 Stage may have it, and yet be kept within
 Bounds without a new Law for that Pur-
 pose. I cannot but think, that great Men
 are generally more sollicitous to guard their
 own Characters from public Contempt,
 than to maintain the Principles and Emulies
 of public Virtue, Decency and Order.

His Lordship then tells a Story of *Mollere*,
 whose *Tartuffe* was prohibited in the Re-
 presentation, because it was thought to
 glance at the *Prime Minister* of Religion
 (as the Prince of Conti metely call'd him)
 the Archbishop of Paris, while the *Italian*
 Comedians were every Day uttering the
 most gross Blasphemies and Impieties.
 And by another Story from the *Roman* His-
 tory,

tery, where Pompey repels a theatrical
Satire by looking for the Cause of it in
himself; he illustrates what follows.

One of the greatest Goods we can enjoy
is Liberty. The best Things have their
Allays: Liberty has its Allay. Licentious-
ness is the Allay of Liberty; it is the na-
tural Excess, the Ebullition of vigorous
Liberty. When I touch the one it is with
a fearful, with a trembling Hand, lest I
should unwarily do a violence to the other.
Is a Play a Libel upon any one? The
Law is sufficient to punish the Offender,
and the Person in this Case has a singular
Advantage; he can be at no Difficulty to
prove who is the Publisher of it; the
Player himself is the Publisher, and there
can be no Want of Evidence to convict
him.

When we complain of the Licentious-
ness of the Stage, I fear we have more
Reason to complain of bad Measures
in our Policy, and a general Decay of
Virtue and good Morals among us. Ri-
dicule and Satire have their Use in such a
Circumstance; they have a direct Ten-
dency

‘ dency to correct the Guilty, while the
 ‘ Innocent have nothing to fear from
 ‘ them. Just Conduct exempts every
 ‘ Person from the Consequences of Satire;
 ‘ for Satire unjustly cast reverts upon the
 ‘ Censurer, and Ridicule ill applied makes
 ‘ the Person who uses it ridiculous.

‘ The Stage, preserved and kept up to
 ‘ its true Purpose, should, no doubt, only
 ‘ represent those Incidents in the Actions and
 ‘ Characters of Men, as may tend to the
 ‘ Discouragement of Vice, and the Pro-
 ‘ motion of Virtue and good Life; nor
 ‘ does it vary from its Institution, when it
 ‘ helps us to judge of the Vices and Follies
 ‘ of the Times.—But when the Stage is
 ‘ under Power and Controul, such Instances
 ‘ are not to be met with.

‘ I must say freely, I am for no Power
 ‘ that may exert itself in an arbitrary Man-
 ‘ ner. The C——t is always for favouring
 ‘ its own Schemes, and is fond of making
 ‘ every thing in its Power subservient to
 ‘ them. Our Stage has been formerly
 ‘ made very useful in this Particular. In
 ‘ King Charles the 1st’s Time there was a
 ‘ Licenser

Licenser at Court: What was the Practice then? Why, when we were out of Humour with *Holland*, *Dryden* the Laureat wrote his Play of the Cruelty of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. When the Affair of the Exclusion Bill was depending, he wrote his *Duke of Guise*. When the Court took Offence at the Citizens, who having a great deal of Property, were tenacious of it, as they were of Liberty, which is absolutely necessary to the Security of Property, the Stage was employ'd to expose them as Fools, Cheats, Usurers, and, to compleat their Characters, Cuckolds. The Cavaliers at that Time, who were to be flatter'd, tho' the worst of Characters, were always very honest worthy Gentlemen; and the Dissenters, who were to be abused, were always Scoundrels, and quaint mischievous Fellows.

In this Manner was the Stage under a Licenser. And tho' I have the greatest Esteem for that noble Lord in whose Hands this Power at present is designed to fall, and whose Impartiality and Judgment I have the greatest Confidence in, yet

yet sometimes a Leaning towards the Fa-
 shions of a Court is hardly to be avoided;
 and it is natural to expect, that a Court
 Officer will generally regulate his Judg-
 ment according to the Humour of the
 Court, whatever the Humour of the
 Court may be.

My Lords, if it were necessary a Bill
 of this Kind should pass, I am of Opi-
 nion, the Method proposed in this, to
 restrain the Licentiousness complain'd of,
 will not answer the Purpose. For if it
 does not extend to the Restraint of Print-
 ing (which I hope it never will) it cannot
 produce that desired Effect. When my
 Lord Chamberlain has marked a Play
 with his Refusal, may it not be printed?
 Will it not be printed with double the
 Advantage, when it shall be insinuated,
 that it was refused for having some Strokes
 of Wit or Satire in it, that were not suf-
 fer'd to come on the Stage? and will not
 the Printer set the Refusal in his Title,
 as a Mark of Value? Is it not natural to
 be fond of any thing that is forbid? and
 will it not be more likely to have its
 Effect

' Effect among the People, by this Means,
 ' when the printed Play may cost but a
 ' Shilling, and the seeing it acted will cost
 ' three or four? Does not the Satire re-
 ' main in Print, to be read and considered
 ' when the Offence in Acting is over and
 ' forgot? — I don't doubt but there are
 ' People who would sit down and write a
 ' Play on Purpose to have it refused, and
 ' that will be the only Merit belonging to
 ' it: For I must observe to your Lordships,
 ' that although it is very difficult to write one
 ' that is fit to be acted, yet it is easy enough
 ' to write one that is fit to be refused.
 ' When this is the Case, will it not be
 ' said, Shall we suffer a Play to be printed
 ' after it has been forbid to be acted? Shall
 ' we prevent the Administration from being
 ' abused in *Drury-Lane*, and allow it to
 ' be abused all over the Nation? What can
 ' be said in Answer to this? I own, I think
 ' one Restraint as reasonable as the other.
 ' When this Point is once gain'd, another
 ' Step will undoubtedly follow: It will
 ' be said, Shall we prohibit the printing of
 ' a Libel in the Form of a Play, and per-
 ' mit

' mit a Libel, not in the Form of a Play,
 ' to be published. This Restraint, which
 ' appears to me as reasonable as the two
 ' former, puts an end to the Liberty of the
 ' Press, which we all seem to think of such
 ' vast Importance; and therefore I cannot
 ' but be against the first Step, which must
 ' lead us to the last.

' Besides, my Lords, we ought in all
 ' Points to be tender of Property. Wit is
 ' the Property of those who are possess'd
 ' of it, and very often the only Property
 ' they have. Thank God, my Lords, this
 ' is not our Case; we are otherwise provi-
 ' ded for. I must own I am not for laying
 ' any particular Restraint upon Wit; but
 ' by this Bill Wit is to be delivered out to
 ' the Publick by Retail; it is to be *excised*,
 ' my Lords; and there is to be a remarka-
 ' ble Distinction in this Excise from all
 ' others, that the Lord Chamberlain is to
 ' have all the several Offices vested singly
 ' in himself: He is to be the Gauger, Sur-
 ' veyor, Judge, and Jury, without allow-
 ' ing any Recourse to those important Of-
 ' ficers, the Commissioners of Appeal!

After

After saying more concerning the Hardship of this Act to Authors, his Lordship proceeds: ' And here I cannot help observing, ' what an unthankful Office it must prove ' to that noble Lord who is to make the ' Piece current, when Reflections shall be ' fix'd upon particular Persons, and be authorized at the same Time under his own ' Hand. In short, there is one Circumstance which must make the Exertion ' of the Power, designed to be given to the ' Lord Chamberlain, extremely disagreeable ' to the present Lord Chamberlain; because no Man ever made it more the ' Rule of his Life to avoid giving Offence ' to any one, as he necessarily must by the ' Use of this Power; and I am sure it is a ' very invidious Post to be obliged by his ' Office to be the Standard of Wit, Politeness, and good Sense to the whole ' Nation.

' My Lords, from Laws of this Nature ' I suspect very ill Consequences; nor can ' I frame to myself any one good Argument ' or Reason for this Bill. It is an Arrow ' that does but glance upon the Stage; but
Y it

' it will give its fatal Wound to the Liberty
 ' of the Press. No Country ever lost its
 ' Liberty at once: 'Tis by Degrees that
 ' Work is to be done; by such Degrees as
 ' creep insensibly upon you, till 'tis too late
 ' to stop the Mischief; like different Shades
 ' of the same Colour, in which it is im-
 ' possible to mark out the several Grada-
 ' tions.

Every one remembers how right his
 Lordship's Opinion was, as to the printing
 of Plays that were refused by the Licen-
 ser, and even as to the writing of Plays on pur-
 pose to have them refused, that they might
 be printed only. Two or three Pieces we
 have had, under Names of the first Class
 in the poetical World, which were sold by
 Subscription at more than treble the ordi-
 nary Price, in order to compensate, with
 less Hazard, the Profit it was supposed might
 have accrued from them, had they been
 represented with Success. Whether the no-
 ble Orator was equally right, in what he
 predicted concerning the Press, or whether
 his Apprehensions for that Part of Liberty
 carry'd him a little too far, Time has not
 yet

yet made evident: But of this I am certain, that we cannot be too watchful and suspicious in a Point that so nearly concerns the very Being of our Constitution, and which we have reason to think every *bad Minister* [how few are *good* ones!] would take the first Opportunity to carry against us.

If I were to charge the *Riot Act* to the Account of the late Minister, perhaps I should be accused of loading him too heavily, because he was not then *sole*; and the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act before may be thought to justify the same Measure under his Administration. I will only say in general, that all such Encroachments on Liberty, by whom soever advised, are of the most dangerous Consequence; and that the Multiplication of them, under any Administration in *Great-Britain*, gives ground to suspect that those at the Head of it are conspiring against the People.

The Act to prevent *Smuggling*, which restrained Gentlemen on a Journey from providing for the Safety of their own Persons, and exposed them to the Insults of every petty Officer, must however be placed

to the Score of this Gentleman, and will be look'd upon as equally arbitrary with any other. Such have been several Schemes relating to the Army and Fleet, as appears from what follows.—

' The Art and Mystery of projecting
' *penal Laws*, says a late Writer, * was
' never in so flourishing a Condition as at
' present. I need not recapitulate the Mul-
' titude of Excises, and other penal Laws,
' which have been either enacted, or at-
' tempted, within these twenty Years past,
' that is, since the memorable *Æra* of 1721.
' But we have had two noble Schemes of
' the same Nature this Year, which de-
' serve some particular Remarks; I mean,
' the Clause proposed in the Mutiny Act,
' for compelling all Innkeepers, Victuallers,
' and other Masters of public Houses, to
' provide for the Soldiers quartered upon
' them at so much a Day; and the Bill
' for registering all Seamen, and Sea-faring
' Men, such as Sailors in the mercantile
' Service; Hoymen, Lightermen, Barge-
' men, Cablemen, Watermen, and all Per-
' sons

sons whatsoever, who get their Livelihood
upon the Water, with a few Exceptions of
Masters, Mates and some other subordinate
Officers. These two Schemes are very
nearly related to each other, the one be-
ing pretended to be necessary for the Land,
and the other for the Sea Service.

What was said upon these two Projects,
both in Senate and the public Writings, is so
recent, that I shall not repeat it here. We
are not a bit less obliged to the Projectors, be-
cause they did not succeed, than if they had
gone glibly down; Want of Success not in the
least diminishing from their good Intentions.

I shall close this Section with one Quo-
tation more, from a Paper written since the
Resignation of Sir R. W.

If we look into the Maxims of the
Government of the late Minister, we
shall find them but very few, when con-
sidered apart from Conveniency and Ex-
pediency; but of those few he had,
the chief was the Multiplication of penal
Laws. It has been said both by himself and
his Creatures, that no severe or cruel Use
have been made of these penal Laws.

— But the Danger of the Na-

' tion arises from this very Mediocrity, this
 ' very Lenity. They were Scourges in his
 ' Hand, which the People dreaded; and
 ' this Dread was more for his Purpose than
 ' if he had apply'd them. For had they
 ' been apply'd as liberally as they might
 ' have been, the popular Detestation of his
 ' Person would soon have been too hard
 ' for his Power. They were, however,
 ' apply'd as often as his Purpose required.
 ' —The Penalties were, indeed, some-
 ' times remitted; but remitted for infamous
 ' Ends: They were made the Barter of the
 ' Liberty and public Spirit of the unhappy
 ' Delinquent.

S E C T. V.

*Undue Influence in Elections, and on the
 Elected, with other suspected Branches of
 Corruption.*

IT would be needless, as well as diffi-
 cult, to give particular Instances of
 what no body will deny in general, that *un-
 due*

due Influence has been made use of not only in the Choice, but upon the After-Conduct, of our *British* Representatives. Transactions of this kind are secret in their Nature, and equally ignominious to the *Corrupter* and the *Corrupted*, in case of Detection, which therefore they usually prevent. Yet such Discoveries are sometimes made, either the by Parties themselves, or by the Agents negotiating between them; and if we were only to take a close Retrospect of the late Administration, we shall, perhaps, find more of this, than in any other Period of the same Number of Years.

Extensive Grants, and discretional Votes of Credit, at the End of a Parliament, have been thought too well calculated for the Purposes of Corruption; and every Body knows, that such Grants and Votes were at least never so frequent as during the late Administration. I have before spoke pretty largely of this Subject in general; but must here repeat it, that if Votes of Credit are * dangerous at all Times, they are peculiarly

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culiarly

* Politicks on both Sides, p. 71.

culiarly so before a general Election, when they may be employed to corrupt the People with their own Money, and to destroy the Freedom of that House, from whence they receive their Force. Whoever reads the Memoirs of *Phillip de Comines*, will see that the Subjects of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* lost their Liberties by a Power of the same Nature, which that Prince artfully gained, under Pretence of keeping himself always prepared against any sudden Surprises from his Neighbour the King of *France*. And one great Blow was given to the Liberties of *France* itself, by the like Concessions to *Lewis XI.* Dr. *Geddes* has a remarkable Instance of the same Kind, with regard to the *Cortex* of *Castile*, who lost all their Authority by allowing King *Henry II.* to raise Money on the Subject, without assembling them, in case that what they had granted him was not found sufficient.

The continuing of Parliaments for seven Years, which before were chosen for three only, and in former Times against every Session, is undoubtedly the putting of great Power in the Hands of a Minister. It is worth

worth his while, for so long a Time, to purchase a Seat for his Friend in the House; or his Friend may think it worth his own while to purchase a Seat for himself, when he knows he shall be repaid his Money, with large Interest, either in Places or Jobs. That this has been the Practice, I believe few will dispute, and not a single Man in *Britain* doubt. At the Time of the famous Convention, when Lists were published of the Members of the House of Commons, distinguishing who voted *for*, and who *against* the Approbation of that Measure, it cannot be forgot that about 200,000 *l. per Annum* in Places appeared among the Gentlemen on the *Affirmative*, and scarce any Thing amongst those on the *Negative* Side of the Question; except only the Prince's People, who since that Time have learned to vote with other Placemen. Now either we must allow, that all the Bounty of the Crown was luckily divided among Gentlemen originally of one way of thinking, or that this Bounty had some Influence on at least some of their Opinions. I do not say this is quite as plain as a Demonstration

monstration in *Euclid*, but, considering the Nature of the Argument, I think it full as convincing.

With regard to the Election of Members, the Bribing of whole Boroughs by public Donations, and of particular Voters with private Gifts, either in ready Money specifying the Condition (which indeed seems at present to be laid aside) or in paying an exorbitant Price for something of small Value, or in recommending a Son or Nephew to the Excise or Customs, and with either or all of these in plentiful Treats and Promises; these are stale Topics in the Mouth of every *Briton*, and look'd upon as indisputable. But if what is advanced by the Author of *an Address to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, &c.* published at the Election of the late Parliament, be also true, the Case is yet more deplorable.

' The next Point to be consider'd in Order, as well as Importance, is the Committee of Privileges and Elections; which is a Sort of Court of Judicature, for the Decision of Parliamentary Disputes, and therefore

therefore all Proceedings in it ought to be conducted with the utmost Regard to Justice and Honour. Yet I am very sorry to observe, that in some former Parliaments these Committees have been most scandalously abused, and made the servile Instruments of a prevailing Faction in the House, or an insolent, domineering Minister. The Misfortune is, that Gentlemen are apt to think themselves at Liberty to vote, upon these Occasions, just as their Interests, or Inclinations, or Friendships, or Alliances, or other private Considerations may direct them, without any Regard to the Merits of the Cause. Nay, it is become a common Practice to solicit these Points publicly, and to beg the Votes and Interest of particular Members for such or such an Election, if they are not pre-engaged. To this we must add, that the Examinations, in such Cases, not being upon Oath, there is commonly too much lying on both Sides; which gives the bad Part of the House a Pretence for favouring which Side they please, and lays even the most impartial Judges under some Difficulty to determine
where

where the Right lies. But whatever some Gentlemen may think, or pretend to think, an equitable Determination of these Disputes is so essential to the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, that as no private Influence whatsoever ought to bias your Judgments, so no Attention should be wanting to inform them.

It is impossible to lay down any particular Rules for making a right Judgment upon these Occasions; but I believe it will be too often found true, that when Persons in Office become Petitioners, they have no other Right to sit in Parliament, than what they expect from the Power of a Minister, and the Partiality of the House. Nay, many have been known to stand Candidates with no other View; for when a Minister finds the Country run so strongly against him, that with all his Power and Corruption he can get only a very inconsiderable Majority, nothing is more common than to send his Creatures about to different Boroughs, with Orders to oppose Country Gentlemen at all Adventures. No Matter for the natural Interest of the Place, or the
apparent

apparent Inclinations of the People; no, nor even for the Poll, Declaration, and Return. Their standing Candidates alone gives them a Pretence of Petitioning, and their Patron an Opportunity of *weeding* the House, as it is call'd, of obnoxious Members. But this is a Practice of the most dangerous Consequence, which ought to be effectually discountenanced before it is too late: For what avails the boasted Right of *Englishmen* to chuse their own Representatives, if their Election is to be set aside in this Manner? All Members, brought in by such Means, are certainly the Representatives of the Minister, not of the People.

Alas! without any such Proceedings, every Ministry hath too much Influence in the Choice of a Parliament; nor have they any great Reason to triumph in their Success, as a Mark of Wisdom or Dexterity, when we look either Northward, or Westward, and see particular Agents or Undertakers, sent down to negotiate for whole Counties, in one Place, and for all the Members of both Houses of the Legislature,

ture, in the other. Besides this, there are Numbers of Boroughs, which are distinguished by several Offices, and are thought to be so much the Properties of them, that they are called Treasury-Boroughs, Admiralty-Boroughs, Ordinance-Boroughs, Victualing-Boroughs, &c. Nay, every Governor of a Town, that sends Members to Parliament, thinks he hath a Right to be one, and hath such a Power of distressing and harrassing them, that they are commonly obliged to gratify him in his Expectation.

The same Author has something yet more entertaining in the Relation, and not less melancholy in the Reflection, upon a Custom that is thought to have been greatly improved under the late Chancellor of the *Exchequer*.

The Practice of summoning the Members to the *Cock-Pit*, by a ministerial Writ, and haranguing them there, before his Majesty opens the Session with a Speech from the Throne, is but of modern Date, and may be justly rank'd amongst those Improvements, which have been lately made on our

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Constitution. I don't know exactly how long this Custom may have prevailed, nor is it of much Importance to the Public; but I may venture to affirm that it hath been carried farther, within a very few Years, than ever it was before; having not only been punctually observed at the Beginning of every Session, but even prostituted to the Service of particular Jobs; to stop Enquiries into Frauds of the most pernicious Nature; to screen Delinquents of the worst Kind; and infringe that Liberty of voting, which is always peculiarly intended by a *Ballot*.

There is something very ridiculous, as well as unparliamentary, in these ministerial Conventions. Their first Assembly is commonly held at the Minister's own House, three or four Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, and consists only of a few trusty Creatures, who are called together, in order to peruse the King's Speech, and consider of proper Persons to move for and second the Address. These Gentlemen, who are generally proposed by the Minister himself, after a self-denying Speech,

Speech, modestly declining so great an Honour, and desiring it may be put into abler Hands, are at last overcome and prevail'd upon to undertake it. At the same Time, these choice Friends are let into the State of Affairs, as far as is necessary, and instructed what to say, in Case of a Debate, upon several particular Points.

But to resume the Business of the Address, which, perhaps, is likewise drawn up and settled, long before they met, as well as the Speech: For it hath been the Practice of some late Ministers not only to put whatever they think fit into their Master's Mouth (which is commonly a Panegyrick on themselves, or a Justification of their Measures) but likewise to do the same kind Office for the Parliament, and make them echo back the Substance of it, by Way of Address. When these Points are settled in the ministerial Cabinet, for so I may call it, a general Assembly of all the Well-affected is summoned to meet, a Day or two afterwards, at the *Cock-Pit*: where the same Farce is acted over again, in a more circumstantial and solemn Manner.

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The Minister produces a Copy of the Speech; which being read and received with great Applause, it is resolv'd, *nemine contradicente*, to promote a loyal and dutiful Address to his Majesty upon it, not only to return him Thanks for so gracious a Speech, but to applaud the Wisdom of all his Measures, and to assure him of their chearful Concurrence to any Supplies, that may be judged necessary in the present Exigency; in this Manner deviating from the ancient Practice of Parliament, which consisted only in returning his Majesty Thanks for his Speech, in general; whereas this is a previous Engagement to satisfy all the Demands of a Court; and though it may be understood at home to be only a Compliment of Course, it certainly carries a different Aspect abroad, and looks as if the Parliament had in a Lump approved of all the Measures of the Administration. Then the Persons, agreed upon before to move and second the Address, are propos'd by another worthy Gentleman, who is likewise let into the Secret, and unanimously approved. Here again they modestly de-

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cline

cline it, as if there had been no previous Meeting, and again with great Importance are prevailed upon to accept it. What makes this Scene still more diverting is, that when the Commons return to their own House from the House of Lords, after his Majesty hath made his Speech, the Speaker always tells them, in a formal Manner, that he hath with great Difficulty obtain'd a Copy of it; when above half the Members, perhaps, had seen, or heard it read, a Day or two before.

It must be owned, notwithstanding this extraordinary Discipline, that sometimes Ministers, and even the King, have found it difficult to carry a very unpopular Point. But on these Occasions there are yet other Arts, which the same Author hints at, in the ministerial System. After using all the necessary Arguments, to persuade every Member to constant Attendance in his Seat, he adds:

But let no Gentleman think that he hath done his Duty to his Country, by being, perhaps, pretty constant in his Attendance at the Beginning of a Session, or

even till all the great Points, as he imagines, are over. No, the Nature of his Duty requires a constant Attendance, not only every Session, but during the whole Session; since his Absence may prove as detrimental to his Country at the latter End, as at the Beginning. Those are the Times, to which Ministers commonly reserve all unpopular Points, in hopes of a thin House; and the Success of this Policy, in too many Instances, ought to determine you not to give them the same Opportunities for the future. I shall only put you in mind that the *Excise Bill* was thrown out by the strict Attendance of those worthy Members who opposed it, and that the late Vote of Credit was facilitated, at least, by Non-Attendance.

So much has been said, at different Times, of the great Danger that attends a Multitude of Places, while the Disposition of them is all in the Hands of one Man, that it would be superfluous here to enlarge upon it. If the late Minister increased,

Z 2

divided,

cline it, as if there had been no previous Meeting, and again with great Importunity are prevailed upon to accept it. What makes this Scene still more diverting is, that when the Commons return to their own House from the House of Lords, after his Majesty hath made his Speech, the Speaker always tells them, in a formal Manner, that he hath with great Difficulty obtain'd a Copy of it, which above half the Members, perhaps, had seen, or heard it read, a Day or two before.

It must be owned, notwithstanding this extraordinary Discipline, that sometimes Ministers, and even the *Peers*, have found it difficult to carry a very unpopular Point. But on these Occasions there are yet other Arts, which the same Author hints at, in the ministerial System. After using all the necessary Arguments, to persuade every Member to constant Attendance in his Seat, he adds:

“But let no Gentleman think that he hath done his Duty to his Country, by being, perhaps, pretty constant in his Attendance at the Beginning of a Session, or

even all the great Points, as he imagines, are over. No, the Nature of his Duty requires a constant Attendance, not only every Session, but during the whole Session; since his Absence may prove as detrimental to his Country at the latter End, as at the Beginning. Those are the Times, to which Ministers commonly reserve all unpopular Points, in hopes of a thin House; and the Success of this Policy, in too many Instances, ought to determine you not to give them the same Opportunities for the future. I shall only put you in mind that the Excise Bill was thrown out by the strict Attendance of those worthy Members who opposed it, and that the late Vote of Credit * was facilitated, at least, by Non-Attendance.

So much has been said, at different Times, of the great Danger that attends a Multitude of Places, while the Disposition of them is all in the Hands of one Man, that it would be superfluous here to enlarge upon it. If the late Minister increased,

Z 2

divided,

divided, quartered upon the Places under the Government, more than any former Minister, and had more absolutely the Disposal of them *all*, certainly he must have had a more extensive undue Influence, than was ever before in the Hands of a Subject of *Great-Britain*.

The Nation had great Hopes, about a Year ago, that we should have been able, before now, to talk knowingly of these Matters, when a Committee of Secrecy was appointed to enquire into the Ten last Years Administration. That Committee, however, was drop'd, and has never yet been revived: But a Specimen of what we might have expected, had they been suffered to proceed without Obstruction, *stole* into the World, and furnishes us with the following Particulars:

* He was accused of keeping up to his original Plan of the *Forage* and *Bank Contract*, and making a Job of every Service, that could, by any Device, be tortured into any Thing of that Nature.

We

We have now * a Demonstration that he entered into a Contract with certain *****, I will not call them Canibals, because such are said to prey only upon their Foes; to pay those gallant Men, who, as it is most pathetically set forth, *cheerfully undertook a Service, where the Enemy was the least Danger they were exposed to*, after the Rate of 120*l.* *Jamaica* Currency, for 100*l.* *Sterling*; or, to speak more intelligibly to our Readers in general, with sixty two Moidores, which is but eighty three Pounds fourteen Shillings *Sterling*; by which Means, the Poor Soldiers lost one Day's Subsistence Money in seven, in a Country, where Provisions bear such a Price, that the People of *Jamaica* had voluntarily made an Addition to the Pay of the Independent Companies, before station'd among them, of 20*s.* *per Week* to every Officer, and five Shillings to every Soldier; though every Species of Eatables was then 50*l.* *per Cent.* cheaper than they are now.

In Aggravation of all which, we more-
 Z 3 over

* In what follows the Author has Recourse to the Report of the Secret Committee.

over find, that an Advance of no less than 69,000 l. Publick Money was made to these Contractors, who are likewise Members, to enable them for the Undertaking, that certain Shares of the Profit of the said iniquitous Contract were, afterwards, dealt out to another worthy Member, and to a Relation of a Fourth; and that in the whole Proceeding, neither the Interest of the Soldier, or the Publick, seems to have been ever the Object of the Minister's Attention.

He was, likewise, accused of sapping our Constitution, at its very Foundation, by making use of the Wealth, Power, and Places in the Gift of the Crown, to influence Elections; and thereby introduce a criminal Dependency, into that House, where it becomes, and ought to be declared, the worst of Treasons.

And it is now apparent that 500 l. was actually advanced by Mr. Solicitor *Paxton*, to one Mr. *Boteler*, a Candidate on the ministerial Interest for *Wendover*, in 1735, without Bond, Note, or Receipt, on the sole Merit of his having been ill used at his former Election.

That

That several thousand Pounds had been delivered by Mr. *Lawton*, one of his known Agents, to carry on Prosecutions, in order to new model the Borough of *Oxford*, which was understood by Mr. *Banks*, Partner with *Paxton*, to be public Money.

That the Bailiff and two Aldermen of *Radnor* had been ousted from their Offices, and a new Charter obtained; all, as must be understood, at the public Charge; since all was defray'd by the said known Undertaker, *Paxton*.

That several Prosecutions, likewise at the public Charge, were set on Foot, with a View to influence the late Election at *Colchester*, to turn the Borough, get out the Mayor, and get the Returning Officer.

And that, at *Weymouth*, Letters under our Adversary's own Hand, offering to make good whatever his Agent should promise in way of Places and Preferments, in Exchange for Votes and Interest, was actually produced; but not having the desired Effect, an Example was made of the Officer, who refused to comply with the Terms proposed, by turning him out of

his Place; which he had held ever since the Year 1729, and had been in the Service ever since the Year 1712.

From all which remarkable Particulars, the following obvious and interesting Deductions are made.

“ To such notorious Attacks as these,
 “ upon the Freedom of Elections, your
 “ Committee apprehend, are owing the
 “ great, and, possibly, unwarrantable Ex-
 “ pences, that particular Persons may have
 “ been drove to engage in. Some Expences
 “ the Laws allow, by regulating the Man-
 “ ner of them, and those who engage in
 “ illicite Expences, are subject to heavy
 “ Penal Laws: But there are none parti-
 “ cularly adapted to the Case of a Minister,
 “ who clandestinely employs the Money of
 “ the Publick, and the whole Power and
 “ profitable Employments, that attend the
 “ collecting and disposing of it, against the
 “ People; and by his Profusion and criminal
 “ Distribution of Offices, in some Mea-
 “ sure, justifies the Expence that particular
 “ Persons are obliged to be at; by making
 “ it necessary to the Preservation of all that
 “ is

“ is valuable to a free Nation. For in that
 “ Case the Contest is plain and visible; it
 “ is whether the Commons shall retain the
 “ third State in their own Hands, whilst
 “ this whole Dispute is carried on at the
 “ Expence of the People, and on the Side
 “ of the Minister, out of the Money grant-
 “ ed to support and secure the constitution-
 “ al Independency of the three Branches of
 “ the Legislature.
 “ This Method of Corruption is as sure,
 “ and, therefore, your Committee apprehend,
 “ as criminal a Way of subverting
 “ the Constitution as by an armed Force:
 “ It is a Crime productive of a total De-
 “ struction of the very Being of this Go-
 “ vernment, and is so high and unnatural, that
 “ nothing but the Powers of Parliament
 “ can reach it; and as it can never meet
 “ with parliamentary Animadversion but
 “ when it is *unsuccessful*, it must seek for
 “ Security in the Extent and Efficacy of
 “ the Mischief it produces; and therefore
 “ your Committee apprehend it is the more
 “ necessary for your Consideration, while
 “ its Want of Success yet leaves an Op-
 “ portunity

“ opportunity to preserve and maintain your
 “ *Independency for the future.* ”

Thirdly, he has been accused of being
 profuse of the Publick Money, beyond Ex-
 ample; and of this we are furnish'd with
 such glaring Proofs, as cannot be aggra-
 vated on one Hand, nor palliated on the
 other.

For Example; we have the Particulars
 of Disbursements amounting to 50,077*l.* 17*s.*
 and 10*d.* (of which no less than 10,997*l.*
 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid within four Years only to
 the celebrated Mr. *William Arnall*, being
 the ten Years standing Charge of *Gazet-*
teers, London Journals, Daily Courants, &c.
 and a Lump of 127,332*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* more,
 under the Head of Bounties, to the said in-
 ingenious, and no less serviceable Person.

We find one Item of 30,197*l.* 4*s.* to
 a noble Earl, for which no Service at all
 is specify'd, though it is understood to sig-
 nify a Compensation.

We find another to a noble Duke, of
 7000*l.* which, through their Excess of Can-
 dor and Charity, our Readers may account
 for as they please.

We

We find a third of 1500*l* issued to the High-Bailiff of *Westminster*, notwithstanding he was then in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for having acted at the general Election in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, in Prejudice of the Rights and Liberties of the Electors of the said City, and in manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections.

We find, moreover, that, in two Days before he resign'd, *viz.* February the 9th, 17,461*l*. was paid into his Hands, by Virtue of three Warrants signed but the same Day; which were pawned with the Bank-Officer, in order to raise that Sum, before they had passed through the usual Forms of the *Exchequer*; and till Money came into that Office, on Account of the Civil List, to redeem them.

And, lastly, we find, that whereas the whole Amount of the Expences, incur'd under the Head of Secret Service, &c. from the Year 1707, to the Year 1717, was no more than the Sum of 279,444*l*. 1*s*. 7*d*. Halfpenny, the ten Years in question under his Administration, under the said Head,

Head, was swell'd to 1,447,736 $\text{h}^{\text{v}}6$ s.

3 d.

From the Premises, therefore, it appears, that as far as the Enquiry has extended, with whatever Difficulties and Discouragements embarrass'd, very sufficient Evidence has arose, that the People had abundant Reason to complain of a Person, who had made so free with his Trust on the one Hand, and the Constitution on the other.

The Extracts I made from the *Dissertation on Parties*, at the End of the third Section, concerning the increased Influence of the Crown (that is, of a M——r) by the new Establishment made in the Government, and the Danger thence accruing, make all other Reflections unnecessary in this Place. If it has been in the Power of *one Man* to get whom he pleased chosen to represent the greatest Part of the Nation, and to direct their Suffrages on all public Occasions when elected; ought we not to rejoice that such Power, in *that Man*, is at an End, and to be careful that it never revives again in any *other* ?

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

*Discouragement of Commerce, Industry, Art,
Capacity, and Literature.*

IT is undoubtedly the Duty of every Man, employed in the Administration of Government, to consult all the Means of increasing the Riches, Power, Interest, and Honour of the Community he acts in behalf of. As the Commerce, Industry, and Arts of the People in general, and the Capacity, Literature, and other fine Qualities of them who are taken into Office, are the Foundations on which the other must depend; it is a pretty manifest Proof that these are discouraged, and that the Nation is neglected, when the public Wealth is unaccountably exhausted, and the public Reputation suffered to decline. Too many will concur with me in Opinion, that this has been the Case for many Years past;
and

and therefore I shall have the less to say on this Subject.

The Question concerning Commerce was pretty freely debated, about four Years ago, between one who sign'd himself *Export* in the *Gazetteer*, and one who sign'd *Freeport* in the *Craftsman*. The latter at last tells us, that he will reduce the Question to a very narrow Compass, by pointing out the several Branches of Trade, universally allowed to be against us; and if it cannot be proved that these Deficiencies are made up by Profits in other Branches of Commerce, the Balance, on a general Account, is against us; and consequently our Wealth, Strength, and Power are declining. To this End he makes use of the Calculations of Mr. *Josiah Gee*, a Gentleman of great Candour, and Judgment in Trade, who printed his Treatise upon that Subject for his Majesty's Perusal, having had Intimation that it would be agreeable. I shall make some farther Use of the same Treatise, as I proceed.

We

We will suppose, says Mr. Gee, * the Balance of Trade we pay Norway for Timber, &c. 130,000 over and above what they take from us, to be _____

The Balance to Sweden for Iron, Timber, &c. 240,000 _____

The Balance to Russia for Hemp, Flax, Linnen, Hides, Tallow, Pot ash, Timber, Iron, &c. 400,000 _____

The Balance to the Emperor's Hereditary Countries of Silesia, &c. for broad and narrow Carlix, Lawns, Dowls, as well as all other Sorts of Linnen, 500,000 whether from Prussia, or Switzerland, and all other Commodities from Hamburg, Bremen, &c. _____

The _____

* Page 121 of a Book Intituled, *The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain considered.*

The Balance to *Flanders* for
their Lace and Linnen, Threads,
&c. } 250,000

The Balance for Cambricks
and Cambrick Lawns from St.
Quintin, *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*,
and to *Bordeaux* for Claret, to
Champaign and *Burgundy* for
Wine, to *Paris* for Silk and Sil-
ver Brocades, Velvets, &c. and
great Quantities of other Goods
run in upon us } 500,000

The Balance for thrown Silk
from *Piedmont*, &c. } 200,000

To these I will add the Mo-
ney spent by young Noblemen
and Gentlemen upon their Tra-
vels into *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*,
&c. and the Remittances that
are made to the Disaffected who
are gone Abroad. } 100,000

The Interest paid Foreigners
for Money in our Funds, --- } 200,000

The Money spent by Foreign
Embassies, &c. ---

It will easily be seen that these Articles, in the whole, amount to 2,520,000*l.* To which the *Craftsman* adds the following Particulars,

More to *Flanders* Lace 150,000*l.*

More to *France* 500,000*l.*

More to *Germany* 500,000*l.*

1,150,000

Which makes the Whole 3,670,000

Besides vast Quantities of Wines, Brandies, Teas, and other Goods the *French* and *Dutch* pour in upon us clandestinely, which are paid for in Gold and Silver; Seizures and Arrests of Prizes; *Spanish* Depredations; and above 200 Ships taken and destroyed in the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras* since the Year 1720, and before the Commencement of the War.

If cannot be pretended that we receive a Balance from *Holland*; the contrary being manifest from the large Exports of Bullion, and the vast Imports of Spices and other Commodities, which are consumed in Lux-

A a

ury.

ury. The Trade to *East-India*, supposing it beneficial to the Company, rather diminishes than adds to the Wealth of the Nation, as it carries out our Silver. The Trade to *Africa* being dependent on our Colonies, is to be comprehended under it. Those Plantations are indeed allowed to be a great Support to our Navigation and Seamen, and to furnish us with many Commodities, which we must otherwise purchase from foreign Nations, our Rivals in Trade. But as the Export of Sugars is in a manner lost, or at least greatly diminish'd, with respect to other Species of their Product, the Value of them does not pay for such Commodities as are imported, and re-exported for their Use: So that the Imports from thence cannot be said to add to the national Stock, tho' they save us great Sums yearly; for whatever is consumed among ourselves is no Gain, excepting only such Part as is exported, more than the Value of the Imports, for their Use.

As to *Spain*, Mr. *Gee* observes, ' That formerly we received a Balance from thence ' in Bullion; but since the House of *Bour-*

' *bon*

‘*bon* has filled the *Spanish* Throne, and introduced *French* Stuffs and *French* Fashions, it is presumed that the Balance [in Time of Peace] is very small in our Favour.’ Perhaps it may be question’d, whether if we deduct out of the Account the Value of Wine, Oil, and Fruit, imported from thence, the Balance is not against us. And as to *Portugal*, the principal, if not the only String we have to depend on, tho’ we may allow a considerable Balance to be brought from thence, yet it is not thought to be *so* considerable as some Persons would have us believe.

Ireland is Part of the *British* Dominions, and therefore, what is exported from hence, and consumed there, should be reckon’d among our home Consumptions, and not to be brought into this Estimate; since it will only amuse the Ignorant and Unwary, in regard to the State of our Commerce, which it is heartily to be wish’d, for the Sake of our Country, was in a flourishing Condition, and as beneficial as some Writers would suggest. But the contrary being obvious to every considerate Person, who hath

any Knowledge in Trade, as well as the Poverty and extreme Necessity of our Manufacturers, throughout the whole Kingdom; it is highly necessary to make some Enquiry into the Causes and Reasons of it; that a Method may be found out for promoting so essential and laudable a Service, as turning the Employment we give to the Poor of other Nations to our own, and retrieving the unhappy Circumstances of our Country.—*Essential and laudable* truly; and worthy the Care of any Administration! Was it done by the last?—It does not appear so.—Were any Methods pointed out to them?—There were; and even by Mr. Gee, the candid and judicious Calculator, whose Writings were so acceptable to those in *high* Station.

That Gentleman, in his Chapter of the *general Balance* of Trade, after shewing how much the said Balance is against us, adds, “ I shall now propose some Articles of Trade and Improvements of Manufactures at Home, which I am firmly persuaded, if well regulated and carried on with Spirit and Resolution, might be made many hundred

hundred thousand Pounds yearly more profitable to the Nation than now they are. I shall begin the Catalogue of those Regulations, by proposing

The encouraging and making fine Lace, Velvets, Silver and Gold Stuffs, and valuing ourselves as much upon appearing in Manufactures of our own, as the late <i>French</i> King and his Courtiers did upon wearing their Woollens and other Manufactures of <i>France</i> ——	} £ 300,000
---	----------------

The wearing fine Muslins, and other fine Manufactures of <i>India</i> , instead of wearing <i>French</i> Cambricks and Cambric Lawns	} 200,000
--	-----------

Prohibiting the wearing of printed Hollands, and printed <i>German</i> Linnen, and confining that Trade to the wearing of <i>English</i> , <i>Scotch</i> , and <i>Irish</i> Linnen	} 100,000
--	-----------

Encouraging the sowing of
Hemp and Flax in our Planta-
tions, and supplying ourselves
with Part of what we use from
thence, instead of having all
from *Russia*

£
300,000

Importing Raw Silk from
China, and throwing it with
Water Engines here, instead of
Piedmont Silk; the Cheapness of
which would enable us to sup-
ply Foreign Markets as cheap
as any other Country of *Europe*

100,000

Further Improvements upon
fine Raw Silk to be made in *Ca-
rolina, Pennsylvania, &c.* to an-
swer the Use of *Piedmont* Silk

200,000

Encouraging the making of
Pig-Iron in the Plantations, and
making it into Bar-Iron, by
additional Forges to be erected
here, instead of having the
whole from *Sweden, &c.*

100,000

Disposing

Disposing of Bar-Iron, which
 may be made in the Colonies,
 to *Portugal, Italy, Coast of*
Africa, and all other Parts of
 the *Mediterranean*, as well as
Turkey and India ————— 200,000

Making of Pot-ash in the
 Plantations, instead of having it
 from *Russia* ————— 30,000

Encouraging our own Navi-
 gation, by building large bulky
 Ships, such as are used by
 the *Danes and Swedes*, and im-
 porting Part of our Timber
 from *New-England, Nova Sco-*
tia, and Newfoundland ————— 100,000

Regulating our Trade from
 the Plantations, by strength-
 ening the Act of Navigation,
 in obliging all Ships that come
 to *Portugal, the Streights, &c.*
 to come to *England*, and lay
 out their Money here, and by
 that short Navigation to the
Streights carry our Plantation
 Commodities as cheap as the
French do theirs by their New
 Regulations ————— 400,000

The

The making of Cochineal,
raising of Indigo, encouraging
the planting of Cocoa Trees, and
many other Improvements in
Carolina, as well as the *Sugar-*
Islands — — —

100000

Supplying the *North* of *Eng-*
land, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with
Plenty of Hemp and Flax from
our Plantations, would give Em-
ployment to a Million of People
supposed to be now out of Work,
allowing each earned One Penny
a Day, and accounting 300
working Days in the Year —

1250000

We have here, in what he calls only
some Articles of Trade, and Improvements
of Manufactures, a Scheme for adding to
the Wealth of the Nation an annual Sum
of no less than Three Millions, Three Hun-
dred and Eighty Thousand Pounds, which
is 860,000*l.* more than his own Calculation
of the Balance against us, and but 290,000*l.*
less than that Calculation with the *Crafts-*
man's Addition.

And

And in all these Computations there is not the least Notice taken of the most material Article, upon which our Commerce naturally should, and might be made to, depend, I mean our *Wool*; the suffering of which to go abroad unwrought, where it can be manufactured cheaper than at home, not only robs our Poor of their Employment, but lowers the Price, at foreign Markets, of what we yet continue to make. To set this Matter in full Light, I must have Recourse to a Pamphlet publish'd in 1740, intitled, *The Consequences of Trade, &c.* If we believe but half of what this Author advances, we shall not more wonder at our own natural Advantages, than at the crying Guilt of those who have neglected to improve them.

‘The Nature, *says he*, of the Woollen-Manufacturies will shew us why the Advantages of them are so superior to those of any other Business. The Riches of a Nation arises out of the Labour of the People, exported to foreign Nations. If our People can be employ'd, and we can find Custom abroad for the Goods manufactured
by

by them, then the more populous we are, the richer we are; but a Number of People unemploy'd are a Burthen.

If our Wool were manufactured at home, all our People might be employ'd, and their Wages paid by Foreigners in the Purchase of the Goods. Three Packs of Wool, weighing 720 lb. manufactured into Broadcloths, Camblets, Serges, Hose, &c. on a moderate Computation, one Sort with another, employ 450 Persons (I might say 600) who, one with another, will earn 5*l.* a Week; the whole amounting to 112*l.* 10*s.* Now the Growth of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland's* Wool being above a Million of Packs, if three Packs will employ 450 Hands, whose Labour produces 112*l.* 10*s.* per Week, how many a Million of Packs will employ, and how much they will earn in a Week, Month, or Year, may soon be known.

The highest Price of Wool is 5*l.* a Pack, weighing 240 lb. The Produce of 20 Packs, exported unmanufactured, will be only 100*l.* But 20 Packs in King *William* and Queen *Anne's* Reigns sold for 12 to 16*l.* a Pack.

Taking

Taking it at 12/, a Pack, which Wool would yield in 4 Years, if the Exportation were stop'd, the 20 Packs, which now sell for 100/, would sell for 240/, which makes 140/. Difference to the Sheep-Master. The Labour in manufacturing 20 Packs, at 3s. each Pound (tho' it really comes to 5s.) amounts to 720/. So that the Loss to the Nation, in every 20 Packs of Wool exported unmanufactured, is 860/.

But this is not all. The 100/ for 20 Packs of Wool is not paid in Specie, but in Silks, Brandies, &c. run into the Nation Duty-free. Now if we give the *French*, in every 20 Packs of Wool exported unmanufactured, 860/, what must be the Consequence of giving them so many 100,000 Packs as we give them yearly? And what does the Government lose in the Duties upon the Goods that would be imported in Return for some of our Woollen Manufactures? In the *Levant* Trade to *Turkey* and *Italy* (now almost lost to us, and in the Hands of the *French*) we used to bring, in Return for Woollen Goods, Raw Silks, Cotton, &c. all paying Duty. These Goods
would

would employ our Poor in manufacturing them. And are not such Imports, manufactured by ourselves, and applied to real Use, preferable to *French Brandy*? Besides, we enlarge our Commerce, employ our Shipping, and breed Sailors.

The Decay of our Woollen Manufactures appears at home from these Observations: That there are not a fourth Part of the Combers, Scribblers, and Carders, that there used to be: That foreign Merchants do not come, as formerly, to buy them of the Manufacturers in the Country, but the Manufacturers are obliged to employ Factors; and pay House-rent for them at *Blackwell-Hall*: That we have now no Currency of Foreign Coin, as forty Years ago, except in *Portugal Money*: That there is a manifest Scarcity of Money, which obliges many Persons to leave off Trade: That above a Million *per Annum* is paid in Poor's Rates, to Persons capable of working: And that the once most flourishing Towns, for the Woollen Manufactory, are reduced almost to Beggary.

' If we have, then lost our Woollen Trade, into what Hands is it fallen? That *France* has the Bulk of it, appears by Mr. *Man's* Journal of the State of their Manufactures in the Year 1732, which must be improved since; and therefore to shew our Loss and their Gain, let us attend to the following Calculation.

According to a modest Computation, the *French* have 500,000 Packs of our Wool yearly, unmanufactured; with which they can work up twice as much of their own. The Detriment arising to us, and the still larger Profit accruing to them, is made apparent in the following Manner.

A Million Packs of Wool [which are computed to grow here] as sold, when confined to our own Manufactures, at 16 *l.* per Pack, is 16,000,000 *l.*: As now sold, to go abroad, 4,000,000 *l.*: The Disadvantage 12,000,000 *l.*. The Labour and Profit of working it, at 40 *l.* per Pack, is 40,000,000 *l.*. The Labour and Profit of 500,000 Packs, manufactured here, under the Disadvantages mentioned, at half Wages, 20 *l.* per Pack, 10,000,000 *l.*: The Disadvantage,
30,000,000 *l.*

30,000,000^l. By these Computations it appears, that the Nation loses no less than 42,000,000^l. Sterling yearly, besides what the Landed Interest suffers by the Poor's Rates, which, by the Decay of our Manufactures, will become so numerous, that the Revenues of all the Lands will not be sufficient to discharge them, and all the Taxes.

On the other hand, *France*, by getting 500,000 Packs of our Wool, can work up a Million and a half (it being agreed that one Pack of our Wool is sufficient to work up two of theirs) and reckoning but 35^l. per Pack for their Labour, the Labour of 1,500,000 Packs amounts to 52,500,000^l. Sterling. And that they do work up so much may be supposed; for they certainly will import no more of our Wool than is necessary.

This Author then proceeds to support his Calculations, of the Quantity of Wool produced in *England*, by the weekly Toll-Books in *Smithfield*, allowing the Bills of Mortality to consume a 7th Part of the Sheep of the Nation; that there is always a four

Year's

Year's Stock in the Kingdom; and that every Sheep, one with another, bears 4 Pounds of Wool. He does the same with *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and raises the Number almost 300,000 above his first Calculation.

Then he subjoins a Calculation of the Share that Foreigners would pay of the Profits of all this, supposing it manufactur'd at Home.

Two hundred and fifty thousand Packs, the fourth Part of the Growth of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, will clothe 13 or 14 Millions of People, which is more than our Inhabitants amount to: So that three Parts in four of our Manufactures would be exported, and bring home Money to the amount of 30 Millions for the bare Labour in manufacturing those seven hundred and fifty thousand Packs; besides the Value of the Wool, unmanufactured, reckon'd at 12 Millions more, in all amounting to 42 Millions: All this arising from one Branch of our Trade, tho' exceeding the Value of all the other Branches, belonging to this or any other Nation.

He then proceeds to the Disposition and Views of *France*, and the Necessity, in point

point of Policy, of reducing her as much as possible; which he shews can be no way so effectually done, as by keeping at home our unmanufactur'd Wool. 'The only sensible Question, says he, is not whether it be necessary to do this immediately, but *how* it can be done? Some Gentlemen were of Opinion, that we might recover our Woollen Trade by going to Market as cheap as the *French*, tho' they get our Wool.

—— But how can we work as cheap as the *French*, unless our Poor could live as low as theirs? And if we could work as cheap, we could not go to Market as cheap, because, being obliged to carry our Goods Abroad in large Vessels, we must pay Duties; whereas *France*, by being on the Continent, can run her Goods into the neighbouring Nations Duty free, and save 10 or 12 *per Cent*. Besides the Wool of *France* being not of half the Value of *English* or *Irish* Wool, one Pack of which works up two of theirs, what Wool our Manufacturers buy is paid for in Specie, while what they draw from us is paid for in Wrought Silks, Teas, Wines and Brandies, by the

Profits

Profits of which it comes cheaper to them than even to ourselves; the Advantages all together amounting, at least, to 30 *per Cent.* in their Favour.

If we lower the Price of Labour, we lower the Value of Land, and obstruct the Circulation of Commerce; since the lower the Wages, the less Money Labourers have to purchase the Produce of the Earth; so that either they cannot buy so many of them, or cannot give so much for what they buy. But why should we contrive Means of going to Market as cheap as the *French*, and have the Price of our Goods beat down, when we can hinder them from going to Market at all, and, by having the Market to ourselves, fix our own Price? Is it not better to have all the Trade, than only some of it? To employ all the Poor, than only some of them? To have a high Price for Goods, than a low or middling one?

But how is all this to be effected? A Scheme to prevent the Exportation of Wool was formed by Mr. *Webber*, and approved not only by Merchants and Traders of the greatest

Knowledge, not only by several in both Houses of Parliament, but also by the Ministry; a Scheme that, whenever put in Execution, will not only ease Parish Rates, prevent Parish Law-Suits, and suppress Vagrants and Thieves, but will employ them, and open Ways to Commerce, by exporting their Labour.

In the Year 1731 Mr. *Webber* applied to his Majesty, recommended by above 600,000 Woollen Traders, (whose Petitions yet lie in the Duke of *Newcastle's* Office) for a Charter to himself and Company, to prevent the Exportation of unmanufactured Wool by an universal Registry. His Majesty was pleased, with the Advice of his Council, to grant his Request, and gave Instructions to the then Attorney-General to report, or to form a Charter for that Purpose: But he being of Opinion, that tho' it was the Prerogative of the Crown to grant Charters, and that by Virtue of his Majesty's Grant Mr. *Webber* and Company might have put the Scheme in Execution, it was expedient to have an Act of Parliament, to vest the Patentees with greater Powers

Powers than the Charter could convey to them, Mr. *Webster* was thereupon advised to apply to Parliament, which he did Year after Year without Effect, notwithstanding several of the most able Men in the House of Commons declared their good Opinion of it, and their Persuasion that we must be undone unless the Exportation of Wool be stopped! — After some Remarks, this Gentleman puts the following Queries.

‘ Can the Parliament meet upon a Business of more Moment to his Majesty and the Kingdom? Are 28 Millions, lost by us every Year, and above twice as much gained by our Enemies, such a Trifle, that we can let Session after Session slip, without putting a Stop to this fatal Evil? Did our Forefathers place Wool-Packs in the House of Lords, to remind them of the great Importance of Wool, and is it now below our Notice? Is it indifferent to the Nobility and Gentry, whether the Value of their Estates rises or falls? Whether the Taxes be light or heavy? Whether the Streets and Roads be pestered with Beggars, Thieves, and Robbers; or whether we travel and live

safe and unmolested? Whether Industry and Virtue, or Idleness and Vice prevail? Is it indifferent to the Merchants and Traders of all Sorts, whether they have a good or a bad Trade? Whether there be little or much Money? — Am I warm? The Cause deserves it; our All is at stake; and, if lost, can never be retrieved!

Let me add to these a few Questions of my own, to apply these Remarks to our present Purpose. Is our Woollen-Trade of such Importance, and the Exportation of our Wool unmanufactured so detrimental? Was a Scheme, that would have been effectual, to retrieve the former, and prevent the latter, proposed and received? Was it afterwards obstructed? To whom was this owing? and what can the Authors of such Obstruction deserve? Would it ever have been if a prime M——r, who carried every Question before him, had countenanced the Petitioners? Would the Attorney-General, when ordered to make out a Patent, have boggled at the Validity of it, if the M——r had been willing it should take effect? Would it not have immediately passed, and
the

the Parliament have been called in afterwards to support and enlarge it, if found weak or defective, had the M——r nodded Assent? Could a Petition for so salutary a Law have come into a *British* House of Commons, and be suffered to languish away on the Table, if Gentlemen of large Estates, and real independent Interest, had been the Majority to Pl——n and P——nts, the Creatures of a M——r? If the M——r crush'd this hopeful Babe, What could be his Reason? May we not suspect his Friendship to the late Cardinal? his close Ties with the Court of *Versailles*? Is it not known that *Lewis XIV.* issued vast Sums out of his own Treasury, to encourage the woollen Manufactory at *Abbeville*, and even exempted the Manufacturers from the penal Laws against Protestants? And would *Lewis XV.* spare the same Treasury, at so critical a Conjunction, to save the *fine quâ non* of that Trade, now so vastly improved? Has the Heart of * * been ever found so sincere, and his Hands so pure, as to preclude all Suspicions of this Nature?

What must his Ignorance and Idleness have been, if his Innocence can be made apparent?

I have dwelt the longer on this Article, because if any Part of the Grievance be really chargeable on the late Great Man, I think it more cruel than any thing else that has been specified. To drain our Pockets, if the Sources to supply them were left free and unobstructed, might be bare to a great Degree: But to have these stopp'd is intolerable, because the Circulation must soon end.

Perhaps it might be thought partial to mention popular Prejudices, as of any weight in this Case. But if general Observation upon his whole Conduct, all the Time he had the Direction of Affairs, discovered in him a settled Contempt of, not to say Enmity to, the Trade, Manufactures, and Commerce of these Kingdoms; if we saw every Scheme, Proposal, or Motion to extend and improve them, either rendered abortive, or sent into the World maim'd, disfigured, or enervated; can any thing of the same Kind be too bad to be suspected?

I pur-

I purposely omit here the Depredations committed on our Merchants by the *Spaniards*, as they will naturally come into the *Section* of Transactions with that Court; and shall be very brief on the other Articles enumerated at the Head of *this*.

Can any one mention a Period of Years, of the same Extent, in a Nation that pretended not only to be civilized, but polite, when ingenious Arts, Improvements in mathematical, natural, or any other Branch of useful Knowledge, were cultivated under greater Discouragements, were less countenanced and rewarded at Court, than under the late Administration? Did even the Muses ever sing to so little Purpose, or were they ever so little inspired with the Praises of the Great? If we had no *Prior's* or *Addison's* in all that Time, it could not however be said that the Genius of Poetry was departed from us. But from what Pens did Panegyric then flow, except from *Colley Cibber's* to the **,* and *Joseph Mitchell's* to the *M--st--r?* The Spirit of Satire went forth amongst all who could write better, and the Names of *Dunce* and *Blockhead* were every where

dealt about and applied, from the Apartments of St ----- to the Garrets of *Grubstreet*. All these Things happened in the Days, and under the Reign of *W-----*.

I had almost forgotten his Liberality to a chosen Few, the *Osbornes*, the *Walsinghams*, the *Freemans*, and their Associates. Let the Table annexed to the Report of the *Secret Committee*, where all the particular Services and Gratuities are specified, be a standing Memorial of his great Beneficence, and the Writings enumerated of the great Abilities of his Apologists. But perhaps I am a little too severe upon These, who made the most of their Subject: Perhaps, if true, Genius had been hackney'd out to the same dirty Purposes, it must have sunk to the Standard of *Past*, *Arnell*, or *Court-wille*.

From the Literary let us turn to the Great World, and observe what a Figure, among the Courts of *Europe*, we made during the late glorious twenty Years, by the Gentlemen who were selected, on the most extraordinary Occasions, to represent the sacred Person of *Mary*. Nor high Birth, nor great Abilities,

Abilities, nor long Experience, nor polite Manners, nor Dignity of Person and Behaviour had they to recommend them; but Alliance to the M---r's Family, or Attachment to his Cause, were the supreme Qualifications for all Employments. Let any Age, if it can, shew us a Pair of such Negotiators, employed on Occasions in themselves so solemn, but made so ridiculous thro' them, as *Mynheer Horatius* and *Don Beniamino*?

But I have done with a Topic of which nothing can be said but on one Side, and on which none of his Advocates will pretend to magnify the late M^r.

S E C T. VII.

*Vast Expences incur'd, without any visible
Advantage to Great-Britain.*

THAT no visible Advantage has accrued to Us, except in supporting the Lustre of the Crown, and the great Number

Number of Dependents on it, is a Point that we may take the shortest Method to prove, by asking the Advocates of the late Minister, and defying them to speak out, What Advantages of this Nature they can enumerate? Was the suffering the House of *Austria* to be reduced, that House which we had expended so many Millions of Money to raise, and which may perhaps be now charged upon us for as many Millions more, an Advantage to us? Were our numerous annual Armaments, made without any determinate View, and employ'd to no Purpose that we could ever discover, an Advantage to us? Was the permitting our Merchants to be rob'd, and our Trade to be ruin'd, when the Means of Redress were always in our Power, an Advantage to us? ---- It will not be answer'd, They were. ---- To what then were all these Measures owing? An excellent Writer, that has lately appeared, will inform us, in *The Case of the Hanover Forces examined*; where, and in the *Vindication* of it, he has thrown together all that can be wish'd for on this Subject. The Design of this Author is to shew,

shew, that his late Majesty, had no sooner taken Possession of the Throne, than he entertain'd Thoughts of aggrandising his Electoral Dominions; and that this has been ever since the constant Pursuit of the Ministry, and the Source of all our public Transactions.

It does not appear, indeed, that Sir R. W. has been singular in what is charged upon the *British* Ministry ever since the Year 1714, nor shall we lay more upon him than what goes manifestly to his Account; and perhaps it might be some little Extenuation of his Guilt, if it were true, that the only Tenure of Power consists in indulging to a certain *Partiality* here pointed at; But we have been since assured by greater Authority than that of any single Man, that no such *Partiality* *does* * or *can* exist; and if so, how unworthy the Name of an *Englishman* must every Minister be, who when he has nothing to do but to point out the true Interest of his Country, in order to be directed to pursue that *safely*, shall yet conceal

* *Vide* the L——ds Protest on the Debate concerning the H——r Troops.

conceal that Interest where it should ever be known, and bear the Hatred of Millions of his Fellow-Subjects because he will not be a Monitor in their Favour!

The keeping of *Bremen* and *Verden*, after they had been purchased of the Crown of *Denmark*, and the Design of adding the more valuable Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* to the Electorate of *Hanover*, are made the true Motives of our Guaranty of the Dutchy of *Sleswick*, our Apprehensions of *Sweden*, which put the Nation to a considerable Expence, and our engaging so deeply in the Emperor's Quarrel against *Spain*, in 1718. These Transactions were all previous to the Year 1721, when it began to be found, that his Imperial Majesty was not over-forward to grant the Investiture of the new Acquisitions, or to promote an Increase of them with the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, to which the Court of *Berlin*, in case of the Failure of Male Issue, had a Claim by ancient Treaty.

From the Moment, says my Author, that the Emperor ceased to co-operate in the great Work of aggrandising *Hanover*, it

it was both discovered, that the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria* became dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*, and resolved to reduce it again within a proper Bound: But as this was not to be effected only by the secret Treaty of *Madrid*, we, at the same Time, threw ourselves into the Arms of *France*, and acted by the Directions of her Ministers without Reserve; which will serve to account for the Part we took in the Quarrel between the *French* and *Spanish* Courts; the refusing the sole Mediation between *Spain* and the *Emperor*; and the involving ourselves in the *Hanover*-Alliance: From all which Circumstances, we are taught that the Interest of *Great-Britain* was never once thought of all this Time, unless to be sacrificed.

Now that the said Alliance was calculated only for the Preservation of *Lower-Saxony*, or rather to support and defend the new Possessions and Claims of the Electorate of *Hanover*, is, beyond all Controversy, made appear by the Writings and Speeches of those in the Opposition to the late Minister; as, likewise, that the present exorbitant Power

Power of the House of *Austria* was no better than a political Bugbear, to be found no where, no not in the Brain of those who endeavoured most to have it mistaken for a Reality; Consequently that all the Millions squander'd by us on that Occasion, and under that Pretence, served only to exhaust ourselves, and avenge the Cause of *Hanover* upon the House of *Austria*.

Indeed the very Basis of that pernicious Alliance was grounded on Absurdities and Impracticabilities, to say no worse. That we were not drawn by it into War with the Emperor, is not to be imputed to those who advised it, and that a War with *Spain* was the Consequence of it cannot be denied; at least half a War, a War on one Side if not on the other. This half War again generated a half Peace, the which if *Hanover* was not a Gainer by, the Emperor in the End became, very sufficiently, a Loser. The equitable Designs on *Mecklenburg*, * &c. were not yet relished at *Vienna*, though so mighty a Confederacy was formed to persuade the Emperor to it; and therefore his

* Explain'd at large in the *Vindication*, p. 6. and *sequ.*

his Imperial Majesty was still too great and formidable. To be Friends with *Spain*, was then our Interest upon any Terms; we not only treat, but humour, concede, nay, solicit the Honour of being Convoys to *Don Carlos* into *Italy*; that very *Don Carlos*, who was so lately set forth, as likely to become the so long dreaded universal Monarch of *Europe*.

Now to what did all this contribute? Not to the Peace, Security, Wealth, or Honour of *England*: No; but to the Reduction of the still too potent House of *Austria*: For, though that House was already involved in almost insuperable Difficulties; though that of *Bourbon* flourished in exact Proportion as the other declined; nay, though we had incontestable Evidence that *Dunkirk* was then repairing; yet our Ministers persisted notwithstanding, and the whole Strength of the *British* Empire was to be steer'd by the *Hanover* Rudder.

But all would not do: At the Moment of Projection all blew up; and when their Hopes were at the highest, they found they had built upon the Sands.

Though

Though the People of *England* had stooped like a Camel to be loaded, and patiently suffered Placemen and Pensioners to hang upon them like so many Horse-Leeches; they could not be induced to submit to new Taxes and Impositions, in order to destroy that Balance of Power, which, at such an incredible Expence of Blood and Treasure, they had endeavoured to render immoveable; nor the House of *Austria* to be undone, that the petty Princes of *Germany* might aggrandize themselves out of their Spoils.

Finding, therefore, the Ground to sink beneath their Toil, our wise Ministers were forced to their old Track of Negotiations, even with the very Power they had so heartily endeavoured to ruin: Accordingly, we * guaranty the *Pragmatick Sanction*, as the most popular Step which could then be taken in Favour of the Balance of *Europe*, already almost ruin'd beyond Redemption: But even in this Affair, *Hanover* acts upon a separate Bottom, provides for her own Satisfaction with all imaginable Secrecy and Address, and then accedes to a Treaty which

* By the Second Treaty of *Vienna*.

was irreconcilable with all her former Pursuits, and which actually clash'd with her apparent Interest, if that Interest consisted, as was more than suspected, in delivering *Germany* from that very Power it now stipulated to preserve.---But what has since been transacted by *Prussia* and *Saxony* has furnished us with a Solution of this political Problem: Nor can it be supposed that the Forces and Treasures of *Great-Britain* were to be doled away without a valuable Consideration.

It must here be observed, that this new Treaty, which thus dissolved the never-to-be-forgotten *Hanover* Treaty, was enter'd into contrary to an express Article of the last, which obliged each of the contracting Parties not to enter into any new Engagements with any other Power, without a Communication first made to the rest of the Confederacy. This Peace *France* at once resented and despised; and though the Accession of the *States* was at last obtained, it was not without Difficulties and Limitations; though we swallowed the Dose without any Palliative whatsoever.

Thus we see the *Emperor*, *England*, and *Holland* once more in Articles, with *Hanover* for the Head of the Confederacy; But whether the first was before-hand sufficiently humbled, or whether the last was sufficiently compensated, is not as yet to be decided. This however is most certain, that *Great-Britain* is still sick at Heart for having thrown her Weight into the wrong Scale, and being at the sole Expence of these ungrateful Experiments.

But whether this Reunion was placed on right Principles or wrong; whether it was a mercenary Bargain, or an honest Endeavour to preserve the public Peace; one would have thought that the true Interest of the Maritime Powers would, once more, have been linked with that of the House of *Austria*, and all in Conjunction have been brought to act with their whole Power for the common Safety. I say this is what one might have reasonably expected. But let us turn our Eyes to the Event.

Affairs were in this Situation when the King of *Poland* dies; and the Change which succeeded thereupon sufficiently proves

proves how impossible it is to unite opposite Interests. While *Hanover* was most intent upon her favourite Project of humbling the House of *Austria*, she had cast her Eye on the declining Condition of King *Augustus*, and, apprehending a new Election must speedily come on, enter'd into Measures with *France*, for advancing *Stanislaus* once more to the Throne; it being a Point in which the Interests of the two Courts were in a Manner the same: A Prince in the Interest either of the House of *Austria*, or of *Russia*, giving equal Umbrage to both, as being both equally Enemies to the Power of the one, and the Influence of the other. If *Hanover*, in particular, had not met with the Returns she expected from *Vienna*, in the Affair of *Mecklenburg*, &c. she had as little Reason to be satisfy'd with *Russia*, who was strongly inclin'd to recover *Steswick* for the Duke of *Holstein*; on the Security of which, to the King of *Denmark*, depended the Continuance of *Bremen* and *Verden* to the Electorate of *Hanover*. *Russia* had, besides, bu-

fied herself in thwarting the Designs of that Court upon *Mecklenburg*, which were not only obvious to, but gave a general Alarm to all the Powers of the North. As therefore *France* stood engaged, from all Considerations, to support King *Stanislaus*, *Hanover* made her Overtures, on that Head, with the more Frankness, and had the Pleasure of finding them received according to her own Wishes.

That the Court of *Versailles* was therefore so long before prepared for the Death of King *Augustus*, is entirely owing to the Politics of *Hanover*; and that Instructions were immediately thereupon sent to the *English* Minister at *Warsaw*, to act accordingly, did not long continue a Secret to the Courts who were concerned in the Event. Even here at home, Suspicions of that Kind arose soon after, and which it became necessary to clear up: To this End, a Motion was made in Parliament for the Instructions given to the said Minister at that Time; but the Interest of the Premier, as usual, was too mighty for that of his Country,

try, and a Negative defeated the Evidence from Facts which must otherwise have been produced; though a moral Certainty, that these Suspicions were true, arose even from the Negative itself. For, as these Instructions could, and did only relate to the Election, which was now over, there could be no other Reason for concealing them, but the Consciousness of their being more calculated for the Interests of *Hanover* than those of *Great-Britain*.

Thus supported by *France* on one hand, and *Hanover* on the other, *Stanislaus* was elected King of *Poland*, whereby the Influence of the first (though already so much dreaded) was like to receive a very considerable Accession in the North, and the last was gratified in her darling Point of mortifying and humbling the Court of *Vienna*; though for these very Reasons it is apparent, that scarce any thing upon the Continent could be more diametrically opposite to the Interest of these Kingdoms in particular, or the Balance of *Europe* in general.

The War, in which the Emperor was involved upon this Occasion, called loudly upon *England*, *Holland* and *Hanover*, for the Performance of the Guaranty they had so lately engaged in: And our eagle-eyed Ministers did not fail to make a proper Use of it; that is to say, they made it a Pretence to rise higher than ever in their Demands upon the People; and *Denmark*, as usual, lent her Name for Subsidies, which *Hanover* was not the worse for. Should it be asked, what Part that wise Electorate took upon this Occasion? Why, it looked on the Fray with it's Hands in it's Pockets; esteeming Treaties but Parchment, and ready Money too scarce a Commodity to be parted with in any Cause, or for any Engagement whatever.

In *Holland*, however, that the Part, which was playing at home, might be carried on with some Decency and Consistency, our Minister there had Orders to be as loud and importunate as possible with the States, to enter with us into instant Measures for the Preservation of the House of *Austria*,
and

and setting a Bound to the growing Power of *France*: And this our Ministers thought they might do very securely; since, the States being in the Secret of our inveterate Antipathy to the Emperor, it was not reasonable to suppose that they would launch into Expenses, which they knew beforehand would, for that very Reason, be render'd vain and fruitless. But in this one Particular our true and trusty Friends re- mained too much. The States, with some Reason, believed, that when it appeared the House of *Austria* was in real Danger, even the darling Interest of the Electorate would be forced to recede a little to those of the Kingdom; and that even the People of *England* would have so much Influence as to carry one Point in favour of that Family, on which the general Balance of Power principally depended. Upon the repeated urgent and almost daily Applications of our said Minister, they at last, therefore, gave him to understand, that they were willing to meet his Offers Half-way. When

lo! — it appear'd — *be had no Power to treat.*

Thus, in Consequence of this blessed *Polish* Election, *England* was more and more tax'd and exhausted, and the Emperor remain'd unassisted, notwithstanding, in so much that he was compel'd to throw himself into the very Bosom of his capital Enemy, upon any Terms he could get. And tho'; by the Intervention of *Russia*, *Poland* was once more snatch'd from King *Stanislaus*, the House of *Boarbon* made a Shift to procure a noble Equivalent in the Dutchy of *Lorrain*; not to mention the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, acquired by the joint Efforts of *France* and *Spain*, and bestow'd upon *Don Carlos*.

But if the Balance of *Europe* was thus disjointed, that of *Germany* was now sufficiently provided for. There was no Room to set forth any longer, in such terrifying Colours, the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*. — Alas! it was now in Ruins; and what his Most Christian Majesty had condescended to leave standing as a Monument

ment of his Mercy, the Grand Signior threaten'd to destroy; the War in *Hungary* with the *Turks* taking Place, before the Wounds left by those in *Germany* and *Italy* were closed; and the Issue proving as fatal to the *Imperialists* as either of those which preceded it.

In this melancholy Situation the Emperor dies, leaving nothing but the Pragmatic Sanction for the Security of his Heirs; which proved of so little Signification, notwithstanding the great Names with which it was fill'd, that almost every one of the Electors, like most other Electors, thought it a proper Opportunity to make the most of his Vote, and all at the Expence of the helpless, abandon'd House of *Austria*. A weak, pitiful, dependent Emperor, every one could find his Account in; whoever then they prefer'd, they resolv'd to strip first as bare as possible.

But in the midst of these royal Dreams of Dominion, Havock, Spoil and Plunder, the King of *Prussia* starts first into Action, pleads a Right, but takes Possession by Force, and avows a Resolution to hold it by the same

same Means; which unexpected Incident gave a new Aspect to the Face of *European* Affairs. In the mean while the Death of the Emperor, and the deplorable Situation of his Family, affected every English Heart as it ought; tho', at the same Time, they were forced to acknowledge the superior Ability of that great Minister, who had so soon reduced that aspiring House from being the Terror to the Pity of the World. In Hope, however, that he would testify the same Ability in raising up, as pulling down, they very willingly agreed to all his Demands of Aids, Loans, and what not: Flattering themselves that he would now, at least, apply them as he ought for the Service of Great-Britain, not as before — hath been sufficiently explain'd. Not indeed were they wholly deceived: For the immediate Interest of *Hanover* had taken a new Turn from this bold Stroke of the King of *Prussia*. The Ties of Blood have but a feeble Hold on Princes. Thus, notwithstanding the Courts of *Berlin* and *Hanover* were so nearly related, Interest had

set

set them at Variance; not alone with regard to the Affair of *Mecklenburg*, in which the undeniable Rights of the first were manifestly injured, but also on Account of certain Family Claims at that Time unadjusted; as, likewise, that there was a sort of Rivalship between the Families, and any Increase of Interest and Power to the one, was sure to give Umbrage to the other.

The Pretensions of *Prussia* were limited to certain *Dutchies* and *Lordships* in *Silesia*; and as the Event has proved, that he would have been satisfied with much less than he claimed, it cannot be enough wondered at, that Ways and Means should not have been used to bring him to Terms by Treaty and Negotiation (so much used upon more inconsiderable Occasions) before the Dispute was left to be decided by the Sword: But instead of Experiments to soften him, which might have gain'd so potent an Ally to assist in the Preservation of the House of *Austria*, and Increase of Power to the Protestant Interest, the Spirit of War alone prevail'd against him, and the Court of *Vienna* was continually

continually press'd to Action, and call'd upon for Plans of Operations against him; nay, so little was any Thought or Desire entertain'd of gaining him in a friendly Manner, and so little was apprehended from *France* at that Time, that certain Persons, for a while, enjoy'd a Scheme for the Partition of his Dominions, and a Convention was actually form'd for that Purpose; by which very Convention it appears, that the Queen of *Hungary* was the only contracting Power that disclaimed any Share in the Spoils.

Amidst these bewitching Plans of military Operations and imaginary Divisions of the *Prussian Bear-skin*, *France*, not once as yet thought of, steps between, and our late golden Projects evaporate to Air; from which unlucky Period, more Caution and less Presumption has appeared in those Councils; which then undertook to canton out *Germany* at Will.

In particular, *Hanover*, that lately was so forward to have supported the Pragmatic Sanction, not only with the 4000 Men, it was engaged to do, but with its whole Force, as likewise the *Danes* and *Hessians* taken

taken into the Pay of *England*, against *Prussia*, was not now able to give to the Queen of *Hungary* any Assistance, nay, not to preserve itself without the Help of a Brace of Expedients, in which not a Spark of that Spirit, which blazed out so fiercely before, is visible, viz. A Neutrality with *France*, which had so extensive an Operation as to give Safety to our Merchant Ships, or even a Man of War sailing through the *Spanish* Fleet, to say nothing of the said Fleet's sailing through the *Streights* in Sight of Admiral *Haddock*, who had waited whole Years to intercept them. Secondly, To resign not only all Hopes of aggrandizing itself at the Expence of *Prussia*, but to empty its sacred Coffers, for the Satisfaction of some pecuniary Demands of a very extraordinary Nature, which makes it a very desirable Thing at present to take the first favourable Opportunity to replenish them.

Under this Neutrality the new Parliament met; the whole Nation having already learn'd the Cause of that Treaty by the Effects; having likewise, by the same Clue, traced out the mysterious Origin of
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the *Hanover Treaty*, to which they made no Scruple to ascribe the Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, and were almost to a Man convinced, that *Hanover* rob'd us of the Benefit of being an Island, and was actually a Pledge for our good Behaviour on the Continent.

In the *Vindication* of the Pamphlet from which I have made this Extract, the Author lays down one short Rule, by which to judge of all public Transactions, that are otherwise mysterious in their Nature. It is so much to our present Purpose, that I cannot forbear giving it a Place.

* All Masters of State, however public
 ' in general, by their Preparations of Events,
 ' have some secret Springs and Views, which
 ' do not appear to the Bulk of Mankind,
 ' and consequently become Matter only of
 ' Reasoning and Conjecture; in order to
 ' form which Reasonings and Conjectures
 ' right, every wise Man compares the past
 ' with the present, considers the prevailing
 ' Turn and Spirit of the Court, and the
 ' personal

' personal Characters and predominant
 ' Passions of the Prince and his Ministers.
 ' If Reason and good Policy do not shew
 ' the Fitness of a Measure, he seeks for
 ' the true Cause in the Interests, the Habits,
 ' and the Passions of its Authors; and
 ' where these conspire to authorize his Con-
 ' jecture, it is as well founded as Conjecture
 ' can be. For this Reason we see, that in
 ' all judicial Proceedings, where plain and
 ' positive Proofs are not to be had, great
 ' Stress is justly laid upon the Character of
 ' the Person accused: His usual Course of
 ' Life, his Habits, his Connections, his
 ' natural Turn and Disposition, are strictly
 ' inquired into, and weigh greatly in his
 ' Condemnation or Acquittal.'

If we form our Judgment by this Stand-
 ard, we shall have no Room to wonder at
Bakic Squadrons, which we shall im-
 mediately conclude were sent for other
 Service than that of *Great-Britain*; nor at
Spithead Expeditions, which were only to
 colour large Levies on the People, applied
 to other Purposes than they were said to be
 raised for. The only Fleet we ever sent out
 during

during the late Administration, that seem'd to produce any Effect that was manifestly for our Interest, I mean that for the Protection of our Ally the King of Portugal, did perhaps, as much as any other, turn to *private* Benefit; if, as many suspect, it was paid for by that Crown, and the Purchase Money never brought to Account.

—But the following Sections will give us a farther Idea how little the Interest of *Great-Britain* has been pursued in all our Foreign Negotiations, which leaves me Opportunity to be more brief on this Article expressly.

S E C T. VIII.

Negotiations and Treaties with Foreign Nations, exclusive of those with Spain, that regard the present Quarrel.

WE have seen Sir R. W. in the Conduct of Domestic Affairs, charged with laying unnecessary Burthens on the People; with Unthriftiness of the public

lic Treasure, with concerting Schemes oppressive in their Nature, with making fraudulent Contracts to the Ruin of many, with introducing a System of Corruption, and endeavouring to blend it with our very Constitution, with suffering a certain Foreign Interest, no way connected with that of *Great-Britain*, to preponderate in the Cabinet, and become the Measure of our annual Expences. All these Charges, in a great Degree, seem to have been but too fully made good, notwithstanding the elusive Arguments that have been adduced on the other Side. Let us now proceed to a more particular Deduction of our Transactions with other Nations, during the same *Æra*, and see how far *Great-Britain* has been really considered in them, and how consonant our several Alliances have been to her natural Interest. If it shall appear, that, judging by the Rules of Common Sense, and without knowing the latent Spring of Actions, there has been little Regard paid to *this*; there will be no Room for another Doubt, concerning what has been advanced in the preceding Section.

For if all our Negotiations, till the Clue is found that holds them together, appear to be unaccountable, inconsistent, and a Series of Blunders; there can be no Question, if, when we view them in another Light, the Concatenation appears, and they are all manifestly directed to one End; there can be no Question, I say, but we are then come at the Truth. Thus, in all probability, we may at last pay a Compliment to the Great Man's *Head*, which it was never thought to deserve, at least on *Foreign Affairs*, tho' perhaps a little at the Expence of his *Heart*. It had been more excusable to have *blunder'd* all his Days, with a View to the Good of his Country, than to have *steadily pursued another and opposite Interest*, and have been content with the Imputation of *blundering* to cover *Treachery*.

From 1721 to 1725, we heard of nothing but the flourishing State of our Affairs. It is with the last of these Years, therefore, that I am to begin; the King having assured his People from the Throne, in 1721, That nothing more than the Form of a Congress was wanting to establish the pub-

tic Tranquillity,' and in 1724, 'that we
 had Peace with all Powers Abroad.' It
 must be remember'd, however, that be-
 tween these Dates was held the Congress of
Cambray, in which the Courts of *Great-*
Britain and *France* were Mediators, to ad-
 just what yet remain'd unsettled between
 the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the
 new King of *Sardinia*. The Breaking up
 of this Congress, after it had sat a long
 Time to little Purpose, was followed by an
 entire Change in the Face of Affairs, oc-
 casioned by the Conclusion of the first Treaty
 of *Vienna*, which gave our Ministers such
 dreadful Apprehensions of some secret De-
 signs against the Interest of *Great-Britain*,
 that it induced them to project a Counter-
 Alliance, called the *Hanover* Treaty, to op-
 pose the Machinations of these new Allies,
 and prevent the Execution of their Schemes.
 With this Treaty we are to begin the Fo-
 reign Politicks of the late Minister, and
 then to follow him thro' the Treaty of
Seville, the Second Treaty of *Vienna*, the
 War between the Emperor and *France*, our
 Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, the

Convention, &c. with *Spain*, and other memorable Transactions. The Affairs with *Spain* will be considered a-part, as they differ in Kind from all the rest, and regard chiefly our Commerce.

I know it has been affirmed by some of Sir R——'s Advocates, and particularly by one who wrote since his Demission, * that he had at that Time no Hand in the Direction of foreign Affairs, and that Lord T--w--d, and Count B----, after the Death of Earl *Stanhope* and the Earl of *Sunderland*, projected and conducted all Transactions of that Nature; but as this has never been proved on that Side, nor allowed on the other, I think it deserves no farther Notice.

We had scarce Time to congratulate ourselves on the happy Situation of Affairs, in 1724, before the whole Scene was again embroiled. The chief Point in dispute at that Time was, to what Causes so sudden and so unaccountable a Conjunction was really owing. The Court-Writers, as well as their Patrons, imputed it, in the most per-

* Conduct of the late Administration, &c. 1742.

peremptory Manner, to the dangerous Designs of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, against the Liberties of *Europe* in general, as well as the most valuable Interests of *Great-Britain* in particular. The Writers on the other Side seemed to look upon it only as a Defensive Treaty between two Nations, whose Interest it was to ally themselves to each other at that particular Juncture.

It was indubitably proved that the Prospect of the Infanta's being sent back from *France*, after the Duke of *Orleans's* Death, induced the Court of *Spain* to begin a Negotiation with the Emperor; and that her being sent back, with our Refusal of the sole Mediation (at *Cambray*) determined his Catholick Majesty to put a finishing Hand to that Treaty. To this it was added, that our Refusal to restore *Gibraltar* to the *Spaniards*, in Pursuance of a Promise, as they pretended, founded on a Letter from his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*, might be another Motive to such a Resolution at the Court of *Madrid*.

But whatever might be the true Grounds of this sudden Revolution of Counsels and Dispositions in the two Courts ; it is certain, that the Treaty of *Vienna*, and the Measures taken in Opposition to it, laid the Foundation of that long Series of Negotiations, Conventions, and Projects of Accommodation, which engross'd all our Attention for several Years together.

Now, if the Treaty of *Vienna* contain'd nothing but an Accommodation of Differences between the two Courts, with the usual Stipulations of Peace, Commerce, and mutual Defence, (as the contracting Parties declared) we had no Occasion to take such an Alarm, or to be in such an Hurry of putting ourselves in a Posture of Defence. We ought rather to have rejoiced that these Powers had found out a Method of adjusting their own Differences, after we had attempted it in vain : since nothing else was wanting at that Time, as we have been often told, to compleat the general Repose and Tranquillity of *Europe*. Nay, it would certainly have been our Interest, in such a Case, to accede

cede to that Treaty, as we were invited to do, instead of entertaining such terrible Apprehensions from it, and taking such extraordinary Measures to defeat it.

But it must be confess'd, at the same Time, that if the Allies of *Vienna* had really enter'd into any such dangerous Engagements as our Politicians apprehended, and their Advocates positively asserted, it was certainly their Duty to oppose them with the utmost Vigour.

For this Reason, the Author of a famous Pamphlet, call'd *The Enquiry*, made it his chief Business to prove, that there was a secret, offensive Treaty between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; besides those public ones of Peace and Commerce, which they had communicated to the World. Nay, he pretended to be so well informed of this Fact, that he gave us the particular Articles of it; viz. " 1. That the Empe-
"ror was to assist *Spain*, in obtaining *Gi-*
" *braltar* by Force. 2. That *Spain* was to
" support the Emperor, in his new Esta-
" blishment of the *Ostend* Company; for
" both which Purposes, as he told us, the

“ Quota's of Money on one Side, and of
 “ Soldiers on the other, were actually settled.
 “ 3. That the two Courts had undertaken
 “ to place the Pretender on the Throne of
 “ *Great-Britain*, and to begin with that
 “ Enterprize, before they proceeded to
 “ put their other Projects in Execution.”

These were Points, which particularly affected *Great-Britain*, in her tenderest Concerns;

But when all this positive Intelligence, convincing Evidence, and pretended Certainty upon which they were built, appeared to be founded only on Suspicions, or something more than Suspicions, built upon Appearances; or, at best, when the whole Evidence (as a Writer at that Time sums it up) consisted in nothing but *Wharton's* Rambles, *Ripperda's* Chit-Chat, Hearsays of what one great Man writ, concerning what another great Man said; three *Muscovite* Ships coming to *Spain*, Embarkations which were never made, and Armies which were never assembled, many Persons were inclined to suspend their Belief of any such Design, till they saw it a little

more authentically proved; especially, since his Imperial Majesty thought fit to disown by his Minister here, in the most solemn Manner, which he had no Occasion to do, if he was really grown so inveterate against his *Britannick* Majesty, as the Court-Writers represented him.

Her *Czarish* Majesty likewise purged herself from the same Charge, by a solemn Declaration that she had never enter'd into any Engagements with the *Pretender* against his *Britannick* Majesty; and that she look'd upon all such Reports as meer Calumnies spread abroad by the *English* Ministers, in order to justify their Measures at home, and prejudice foreign Courts against her.

To The Gentlemen on the Country Side were therefore justify'd, as far as Events could justify them, in their Backwardness to believe any such Design; for from that Time to this there hath not been any Attempt, nor any Appearance of an Attempt, in Favour of the Pretender: However, these Alarms had such an Effect, at that Time, on the Minds of some Men, that instead of advising his Majesty to accede to the *Vienna* Treaty,

Treaty, under any Conditions, they thought it immediately necessary to project a Counter Alliance; which, as I have mentioned, was concluded at *Hanover* soon after, and laid the Foundation of fresh Disputes, both at Home and Abroad.

The first contracting Parties in this Treaty were the Crowns of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Prussia*; who invited the *States General*, by an express Article, to accede to it, and agreed to invite others. But the *Dutch*, who had this particular Complement paid them in the Treaty itself, did not accede to it, till about Eleven Months after it had been sign'd at *Hanover*, and even then under very large Restrictions.

About the same Time, his Majesty of *Prussia* took an Opportunity of detaching himself from this Alliance, in which he was an original Party. Whether this Division was occasion'd by the Affair of *Thorn*, which was suffer'd to die away as soon as the Treaty was made, or by any other Cause, it was then hard to say. However, to compensate this Loss of one Ally, we soon gain'd another in the King and Kingdom

dom of *Sweden*, who acceded to this Treaty under certain Modifications and Restrictions, by the persuasive Eloquence of Count *Horn*, who acquainted the States, That the Treaty of *Hanover* did not lay them under so many Obligations as former Treaties; though they were to receive a Subsidy of Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year, for three Years, both from *England* and *France*, as the Price of their Accession.

The King of *Denmark* was afterwards prevail'd upon to follow the same Example, in Consideration of a large Subsidy, for four Years, and other Stipulations in his Favour. It was expressly agreed in the Treaty, that this Subsidy should be paid by the Most Christian King: But a Dispute arising some Years afterwards, between the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, concerning the Difference of *Danish* and *Hamburg* Money, we were so good as to prevent the ill Consequences of such a Dispute, by paying the Difference ourselves; which amounted to a considerable Sum.

The Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* contracted likewise with his *Britannick* Majesty to
keep

keep a Body of 12,000 Men in Readiness for his Service, upon certain Conditions, which do not fully appear in the public Convention, nor any where else: But it is well known that these Troops cost the *British* Nation almost a Million and an half Sterling, without doing us the least Service during the whole Time they continued in our Pay.

Amongst all these Allies and Auxiliaries, I must not forget his serene Highness the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, who brought up the Rear of this formidable Confederacy, and not only engaged to guaranty all his Majesty's Dominions in *Great-Britain*, *Ireland* and *Germany*, but likewise to furnish a Body of 5000 Men (not to be moved out of *Germany* or *Holland*) for so small a Sum as Twenty-five Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* during the Space of four Years; which amounted, for the whole Term, to no more than One Hundred Thousand Pounds.

As the Treaty of *Hanover* was concerted with a profess'd Design to defeat the dangerous Projects of the *Vienna* Allies, it was evident at first Sight that such Measures would

would be taken, as must necessarily create some farther Misunderstandings, if not an absolute Rupture, between the different Parties in the two Alliances. How far this was our Case with relation to the *Spaniards*, or how far the *Spaniards*, at least, might reason in such a Manner, will soon appear, in due Place, by the Event.

The Conclusion of this Treaty was immediately follow'd with a considerable Augmentation of our Land-Forces at home, besides the 12,000 *Hessians*, and other foreign Troops retain'd in our Pay. At the same Time, three large Squadrons of Ships of War were fitted out at a vast Expence, and dispatch'd with all possible Expedition to different Parts of the World; one to the *Baltic*, another to the Coast of *Spain*, and a third to the *West-Indies*.

The first of these produced little more Effect than procuring the Accession of *Sweden*, at a very great Expence to this Nation; but the other two were attended with Consequences so well known, that they hardly require any Comment. The Instructions to our Admirals were certainly as moderate

as were ever sent out with two such Naval Armaments; yet even Blocking up the Galleons at *Porto-Bello* with one of them, and hovering round the Coasts of old *Spain*, in an hostile Manner, with the other, were look'd upon at that Court as Acts of Hostility, and resented accordingly. Orders were immediately dispatch'd for seizing the *South-Sea* Ship, and the Effects belonging to that Company at *La Vera Cruz*. The *Spanish Guarda Costas* and Privateers were let loose upon our Merchants, and committed infinite Depredations for several Years together, without any Interruption, or any Reprials. At the same Time the Flotilla, which was said to be at least as richly laden as the Galleons, had the good Fortune to escape our other Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of Sir *Charles Wager*; tho' it was confess'd, * *That they steer'd the very Course, where he was station'd to intercept them.* But this was imputed to long Nights and dark foggy Weather. It was likewise observed, and never contradicted, that several

* *Observations on the Conduct of Great-Britain, &c.*
P. 33.

veral Ships were suffer'd to pass by the same Squadron, even under the Stern of our Admiral, with Stores, Provisions and other Necessaries for the Use of the *Spanish* Camp, which was then in Sight of *Gibraltar*, and preparing to besiege it.

The Siege of that Place immediately ensued; and tho' we had been often assured, both within-doors and without, that our Allies would make it *Casus Fœderis*, and assist us in the Defence of it, they suffer'd the Siege to be push'd on with the utmost Vigour, for several Months, without giving us the least Succour of Men, Money or Ships; and the *Spaniards*, in Return, permitted them to carry on their Trade, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, without any Molestation; whilst they were continually harrassing us, both by Sea and Land: to say nothing farther of our Ships, which were destroy'd; and our Seamen, who perish'd by Thousands in the Service of their Country. Perhaps our Allies might judge the Blockade of *Porto-Bello* to be an Act of Hostility, as well as the *Spaniards*, and consequently not think themselves obliged

to

to support the aggressing Party, by Virtue of a defensive Alliance. But whatever might be the Reasons of their Conduct, it is certain that they took no Part in our Quarrels with *Spain*, nor so much as moved one Man to our Assistance. Nay, even we contented ourselves with the bare Defence of *Gibraltar*, so loudly demanded by the Voice of the Nation, without endeavouring to divert them from the Siege, by bombarding any of their Ports, or ravaging their Coasts; for as soon as the Treaties were made, the Accessions procured, and the Army provided, at the Expence of *Britain*, which were necessary for defending *Lower Saxony*, we seemed to have no more to do in the War.

At length, Preliminaries for a general Pacification were agreed upon; by which a Cessation of Hostilities, on both Sides, was stipulated for seven Years; and that within four Months after signing this Convention, a Congress should be formed, in which all the Rights and Pretensions of the contracting Powers should be examined, discussed and determined. But as soon as the Articles were produced

produced in Public, it was immediately foreseen, on one Side, that the dark and ambiguous Manner of wording them would give Occasion to many Cavils and Disputes.

Accordingly, the Preliminaries were no sooner sign'd, than new Disputes began to be started about the Meaning of them, and such Interpretations to be put upon the Words of these Articles, as utterly destroyed the real Intent and Design of them. The Spaniards insisted that a meer Cessation of Hostilities, as stipulated by the Preliminaries, did not imply an actual Raising of the Siege; and that the Restitution of the Ship *Prince Frederic*, with her Cargo, was not mentioned or included in them. Besides this, the Court of Spain demanded an *Indulto* of 20 per Cent, on the Effects of private Persons, embark'd in the *Flotilla*.

These Points having been warmly litigated by the different Parties, for eight or nine Months, they were adjusted by another Convention, negotiated by the Count de *Rathenberg*, Minister of France, and sign'd at the *Pardo* the 6th of March 1728.

This Instrument contained an Explanation of the Preliminaries, and it was once more solemnly stipulated that all the respective Pretensions, on each Side, should be produced, debated and decided in the Congress; with a particular Engagement, that their *Britannick* and *Catholick* Majesties would abide by what should be there regulated.

In the mean Time, it was agreed that the *British* Squadrons should be order'd, without Delay, to withdraw from the Seas of *Old* and *New Spain*; in Consideration of which, his *Catholick* Majesty likewise engaged that the Blockade of *Gibraltar* should be immediately raised; that a clear and express Order should be sent, without Delay, for restoring the Ship *Prince Frederick*, with her Cargo, to the Agents of the *South-Sea* Company; and that the Effects of the *Flotilla* should be forthwith deliver'd to the respective Proprietors.

These Conditions being accepted on both Sides, his *Catholick* Majesty ratify'd the Preliminaries; but before the Ratifications were exchanged, some new Disputes arose, concerning the Orders agreed to be

sent

sent to the *West-Indies*, in Pursuance of this Convention. These fresh Difficulties took up some Time longer; but were likewise got over by the Count de *Rosbemberg* and Mr. *Vandermeer*, who managed all our Affairs at the Court of *Spain*; and the Congress was opened at *Soissons* on the 14th of *June* 1728.

But this Plenipotentiaries did little more than assemble in Form, and produce their Credentials; after which, having spent five or six Months in Ceremonies and Diversions, they broke up and separated, without adjusting any one material Point in Dispute.

It is true, indeed, that a certain Plan of Accommodation, called a Provisional Treaty, was framed by the Ministers of the *Hanover* Allies during this Assembly, and sent to the respective Courts for their Approbation; but as this Draught of a Treaty was neither relished at home, nor accepted abroad, it does not deserve much Notice. I shall only observe in general, that it was little more than the Preliminaries now modelled, and digested into the Form of a Treaty, without any

specific Explanation of those Points which most immediately affected the Interests of *Great-Britain*.

It will be found, perhaps, that this Project served some anniversary Purposes, for which it seem'd chiefly to be calculated; but as soon as those Ends were answer'd, we heard no more of it. The Prospect of an Accommodation immediately vanished, and Affairs seem'd to be once more tending to a Rupture. Military Preparations were resumed in all Parts of *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, which is seldom behind-hand, upon such Occasions.

A powerful Fleet was fitted out with the utmost Expedition, and made a gallant Appearance at *Spithead*, under the Command of *Sir Charles Wager*. It was there join'd by a Squadron of *Dutch* Ships of War, and seem'd to portend some Enterprize of great Importance; but it afterwards appear'd, that the *Dutch* Squadron was neither actualled, nor otherwise provided, for any Expedition; and the Admiral himself declared, that he had no Orders to attend the *English* Fleet any further. Hav-

ing therefore kept us Company for some Months, and participated in our naval Diversion, they sail'd back to *Holland*, and our own Ships soon return'd to their respective Harbours.

We were told, indeed, that this Provisional Fleet, as it was then call'd, struck such a Terror into the Hearts of our Enemies, that we soon heard of their making Advances, coming into Concessions, abating in their Demands, removing Obstacles, giving agreeable Assurances, and doing the utmost that could be expected to show their Inclination to renew the ancient Amity subsisting between the two Crowns. Nay, it was strongly insinuated, that the Preservation of *Jamaica* as well as our own Coasts from an Invasion, the Sovereignty of the Seas, and Freedom of our Commerce, and even the Security of our present Establishment, were owing to this formidable Armada, which frighten'd our Enemies out of their Designs, and at last produced the glorious Treaty of *Seville*, sign'd the 9th of *November*, 1729.

It cannot be thought wonderful that the Court Writers and their Patron, who triumph'd so much the Year before on the mere Project or Draught of a Treaty, should discover the same Spirit of Exultation upon producing a formal Treaty, actually sign'd; tho' there was still wanting the Accession of one Power, whose Consent was most necessary to the putting it in Execution; for as the Introduction of 6000 *Spanish* Forces into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, instead of 6000 *Neutrals* stipulated by the *Quadruple Alliance*, was the Basis of the *Seville Treaty*; the Concurrence of the Emperor, to whom the Feudality of those States belong'd, was certainly requisite to the amicable Execution of it; and yet he was not so much as complimented, in the Treaty, with an Invitation to accede, as the *Dutch* again were by an express Article.

It was thought expedient to usher this Treaty into the World with some explanatory Observations * upon it; wherein the

Author

* Supposed to be written by the Minister himself.

Author attempts to prove, that it would answer all the purposed Desires; could give the Emperor no Disgust; secured our Right to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*; and would procure Reparation to our Merchants; Neither of which Assertions was justify'd by the Event.

Accordingly the Writers on the other Side observed, First, that supposing this Alteration not to be prejudicial to the Interests of his Imperial Majesty, yet that the Manner of making it, without his Consent, and by way of Triumph over him, as a great Fetch in Politicks, would be thought a Reflection upon his Honour, at least, and might be attended with fatal Consequences.

They likewise undertook to prove, that the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops would be really prejudicial both to the Emperor and the Empire, even according to the Observer's Method of Reasoning; for he plainly intimated that one Design of the *Seville* Treaty was to restrain the Emperor's Power in *Italy*; and consequently it was his Interest to defeat that Design, however

it might be the Interest of others to put it in Execution.

This avow'd End of the *Seville Treaty* was aggravated by another, which was likewise cry'd up by the ministerial Writers as a Master-piece of Politics; I mean the Separation of *Spain* from the Emperor, and thereby dissolving the *Vienna Alliance*, which had been represented to very advantageous to the latter. Did not this affect the Interests of his Imperial Majesty; or could it be reasonably expected that he would not resent it?

Nay, the Country Party went still farther, and demonstrated that the Variation from Neutral to *Spanish* Troops (without minding on the Affront, or having any Regard to the *Vienna Alliance*) was highly prejudicial both to the Emperor and the Empire. For the Neutral Troops, stipulated by the Quadruple Alliance, were design'd not only to secure the eventual Succession of *Don Carlos*, but likewise the Rights of Sovereignty establish'd in the Emperor and Empire over these States. Now this Part of the Condi-

tion

tion was intirely reversed by the Variation
in Dispute. To this it was added by the Writers on
the Country Side, that his Imperial Majesty
appear'd very plainly to look upon the In-
troduction of *Spanish* Troops in this Light;
by refusing to consent to it, whilst he was
under so beneficial an Alliance with *Spain*,
and even suffering himself to be disunited
from that Crown rather than comply. His
Reason for this was very obvious, since if
the Court of *Spain* had no other Design
than to secure the Dutchies of *Tuscany* and
Parma for *Don Carlos*, according to the
Quadruple Alliance, it is certain that Neutral
Troops would have been effectual for that
Purpose; nay, more effectual than *Spanish*
Troops.

They observed farther, that the *Spaniards*
were so far from having renounced their
Pretensions to *Gibraltar*, or recognized our
Right to the Possession of it, that it is not
so much as mention'd through the whole
Treaty; and it was afterwards confess'd by
the honourable Gentleman then in the
highest Station, That if we had offer'd to
mention

mention any thing about Gibraltar; the Spaniards would have broke off all farther Negotiations. We were likewise told by one of his Associates, That Gibraltar was an old Sore, and that our Ministers were desirous to touch it tenderly; That is, the Court of Spain would not admit of any Words in the Treaty, which would annihilate their Pretensions, and did not design to include our Possession of that Place in their general Guaranty of all his Majesty's Kingdoms, States and Dominions.

As to what regards our Commerce, that will come to be consider'd in the proper Place. In the mean time we may observe in general, that these Reasonings without doors, concerning the Treaty of Seville, had likewise the Honour to be strengthen'd by the Arguments of several noble Lords and Gentlemen of great Distinction within doors; particularly in the House of Peers, where the following Motions were made, viz.

Die Martis 27 Jan. 1729.
Moved to resolve, " That the Agreement in the Treaty of Seville to effectuate
" the

" the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into
 " *Tuscany* and *Parma* is a manifest Viola-
 " tion of the fifth Article of the *Quadru-*
 " ple Alliance, tends to involve the Nation
 " in a dangerous and expensive War, and
 " to destroy the Balance of Power in Eu-
 " rope.

" After Debate, the Question was put upon
 " the said Motion, and it was resolved in the
 " Negative.

Moved to resolve, " That our Right of
 " Sovereignty, Dominion, Possession and
 " Propriety to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of
 " *Minorca*, is not ascertain'd by the Treaty
 " of *Seville*, so as to extinguish the Claims
 " and Pretensions set up by the *Spaniards*;
 " which were follow'd by an actual Siege;
 " since the Cession of those valuable Places
 " by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

" After Debate, the Question was put
 " thereon, and resolved in the Negative.

Moved to resolve, " That the Stipula-
 " tions in the Treaty of *Seville*, for repair-
 " ing the Losses of our Merchants, are in-
 " sufficient and precarious.

" After

After Debate, the Question was put
 "thereupon, and it was resolved in the Ne-
 gative. of the Article of the Question."

Then it was proposed by some other
 Lords, to resolve, 1st that the Treaty of Peace,
 "Union and Friendship, concluded at Se-
 ville the 9th of November last, doth contain
 "all necessary Supulations for maintaining
 "and securing the Honour, Dignity,
 "Rights, and Possessions of the Crown;
 "and that all due Care is taken therein for
 "the Support of the Trade of the King-
 "dom, and for repairing the Losses sustained
 "by the Merchants."

After Debate, the Question was put
 "thereupon, and it was resolved in the Af-
 firmative, upon which several Lords enter'd
 "their Protest against it, with their Reasons
 "at large, which deserve particular Notice."

It is observable in Fact that his Imperial
 Majesty was so far from looking on the In-
 troduction of Spanish Garrisons into Tuscany
 and Parma as a trifling Variation from the
 Quadruple Alliance, according to the Doc-
 trine of the Court Writers, that he resented
 both the Matter and the Manner of it in
 the

the strongest Terms, as a downright Infraction of Treaties, derogatory to his Honour, and injurious to his Interests as well as the Rights of the Empire.

Not did the Court of *Vienna* content themselves, like some other Politicians, with shewing their Resentments in Words and Appearances only; but actually pour'd a large Army into *Italy*, with Orders to oppose the Execution of the Treaty, and found Means to maintain them there all the following Summer, notwithstanding the Suggestions of the Court-Party, and the wise Precautions we took, by an Act of Parliament, to prevent the Subjects of this Kingdom from lending him any Money.

When the Allies of *Seville* found the Emperor in earnest, and fully determined to stand upon his Defence, they began to halt and beat a Parley. The Cabinets of *Europe* were again employed in framing Expedients; Couriers were continually passing from Court to Court, and the publick Prints

See an Act to prohibit his Majesty's Subjects, to lend any Sums of Money to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, &c. in the Year 1730.]

Prints amused us with nothing but new Plans, or new Reports, of Accommodation; whilst a large Fleet lay in the Road of *Barcelona*, and a numerous Body of Land-Forces were assembled on the neighbouring Coasts, ready to embark upon the first Notice for the intended Expedition. But his Imperial Majesty having rejected all the Propositions made to him, for acceding to the Treaty of *Seville*, and seeming determined to abide Extremities, rather than consent to their Measures, that Summer wore out in Negotiation only, and the *Spanish* Armada retir'd to their Harbours, without any Action, like our Fleet at *Spir-head*, the Year before.

Thus did Affairs continue in a doubtful Situation between Peace and War, as they had continued for several Years past, till the Beginning of the Year 1731; about which Time a private Negotiation at *Vienna*, between *Great-Britain* and the Emperor, began to get Air; in less than three Months after, a Treaty of Peace and Alliance was actually concluded at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and the King of *Great-Bri-*

tain, in which the *States-General* were likewise included; but neither *France* nor *Spain* were so much as mentioned in it; which seemed to be somewhat extraordinary, as to the latter, at least, since the Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons into *Italy*, with the Emperor's Consent, made one of the principal Stipulations of this new Treaty; nay, what is still more surprising, it was with extreme Difficulty that they were brought into it at last, and even then not without insisting on several Alterations in the Act of Approbation; one of which was, that the Introduction of *Don Carlos* with 6000 *Spanish* Troops into *Italy* should be effectuated previously to the Execution of any Engagements on their Part, however they might stand prior in the Treaty of *Seville*; which, by the way, was concluded above a Year and an half before. The *Dutch* were still more backward in their Accession, and did not accede at last without some wise Restrictions. As for the Court of *France*, they were so far from listening to any Solicitations on this Head, that they exerted their utmost Endeavours to prevent the

the Concurrence of *Spain*. Nay, they express'd such a Resentment both against the Treaty itself, and the Manner of negotiating it, that we apprehended nothing less than an Invasion from *Dunkirk*, where some Troops were assembled. This struck us, all on a sudden, with such a Terror, that the Coasts of *Kent* were immediately covered with Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, who were order'd to march thither, with the utmost Precipitation, from all Parts of the Kingdom, and the Fluctuation, which such an Alarm naturally occasioned in our Stocks, afforded the Caterpillars of the Alley a plentiful Harvest.

However, these Apprehensions being soon dissipated Sir *Charles Wager* was again dispatch'd to the Coasts of *Spain* with a large Squadron of *English* Ships in order to wait upon *Don Carlos* and the *Spanish* Troops to his new Dominions. The Admiral Ship was fitted out in a most splendid and costly Manner for the Reception of his serene Highness, but after a Course of pompous Compliments and Visits between the Commander of the *Spanish* Fleet and our

our Admiral, upon his Arrival at *Cadiz*, and the same Honours having been afterwards paid him at the Court of *Seville*, his Catholick Majesty was pleased to discharge him from the Trouble of taking *Don Carlos* under his Care, and required no more at his Hands than to convoy the *Spanish* Troops to *Italy*, in Conjunction with his own Admiral. The combined Fleet accordingly set sail from *Barcelona* in *October* 1731, and arrived at *Leghorn* the 26th of that Month.

As soon as the Court of *Spain* received Intelligence that their Forces were safely landed, and that every thing relating to the Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons in *Tuscany* was finished, the young Prince was sent after them by Land, as far as *Antibes*; for they chose to let him travel thro' *France*, rather than accept of those magnificent Accommodations, which had been provided for him and his Retinue on board our Squadron, at so great an Expence. His Highness arrived at *Leghorn* the 27th of *Dec.* following, and was received there with all possible Marks of Joy

and Respect ; especially by the *English* Factory, who erected a triumphal Arch in honour of the Day.

Don *Carlos* being thus established in his new Dominions, to the Satisfaction of their Catholick Majesties, and at our Expence, the ministerial Writers began to raise their Crests again, and promised all that our Hearts could wish from the Court of *Spain*, in Return for such high Obligations.— But before I proceed to the Effects of these Transactions, I must make a few Remarks on another Article of the *Vienna* Treaty.

For as the Emperor consented to this Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons into *Tuscany* and *Parma*, which he seem'd so resolutely determined to oppose with all his Might but a Year before ; it must be concluded, that he likewise obtained some favourable Point for himself, and that was our Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction* ; the very Point, which was mark'd out and foretold by the Country Writers, as the only Term upon which we should be able to purchase the Accession of his Imperial Majesty to the Treaty of *Seville*.

It

It must be confess'd that this Treaty of *Vienna* prevented an immediate War, and served to keep Things together for some Time but was far from establishing a firm and lasting Peace ; for, to speak in the softest Terms, a remarkable Coldness ensued between us and *France*, and the Preparations in the Ports of *Spain* for equipping another Armament, the very next Spring, seem'd to give our Ministers such an Alarm, that a Fleet was fitted out here likewise in a great Hurry, and rendezvous'd at the *Nore*, where it continued for some Time, under the Command of Sir *George Walton*. This seem'd to intimate, that our Court had some Jealousy of the Design of the *Spaniards*; for as soon as certain Intelligence arrived, that they were landed near *Oran*, the Admiral was order'd to strike his Flag, and the Ships return'd to their Harbour.

Thus by a strange Variety of Obligations, not only inconsistent with, but opposite each other, (Obligations, the Motives of which we could not conceive, and which can be no other Way accounted for than by what is advanced in the preceding Section)

we were made to affront, in their Turns, all the great Powers in *Europe*; and not only so, but to set them at variance with each other, and at last to bring on the War, that ensued two Years after. And all this was done at a prodigious Expence, at a Time when the Nation was loaded with Debts and Taxes.

Whereas, if we had undertaken to effectuate the Introduction of *Don Carlos* with *Spanish* Garrisons into *Italy*, at the Congress of *Cambray*, instead of opposing it with so much Vigour, the Court of *Spain* would have had no Occasion to throw themselves into the Arms of the Emperor; and if we had been happy enough, at the same Time, to discover that the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction* was only a Bugbear, that frighten'd us without any Reason, there is no Room to suppose that the Emperor would not have comply'd with the Demands of the *Spaniards*, upon that Condition, as readily as he did afterwards. In this Case *Great-Britain* would not only have saved an infinite Expence, in sending out so many naval Armaments to all Parts of the World,

keeping

keeping up foreign Armies, and paying foreign Subsidies, with all their necessary Concomitants at home; but might likewise have carried on her Commerce without Interruption, or such a continued Series of Depredations, as our Merchants have suffer'd for many Years past. Nay, if our Ministers had happen'd to make all these wise Discoveries at the Congress of *Soissons*, or even when the Treaty of *Seville* was in Agitation, we might have avoided some Part of these Expences and Calamities.

This Deduction of Facts being allow'd, and they cannot be disproved, how ridiculous was it therefore to argue, that the ensuing War in *Europe* was occasion'd meerly by the accidental Death of the late King of *Poland*, which no human Wisdom could foresee? It may be said, indeed, that the Demise of that Prince was the immediate Occasion of the Flames bursting out; but the combustible Matter was laid long before, and the least Spark was sufficient to set Fire to the Train. The Vacancy of the Throne of *Poland* happen'd to come first in the

Way; but any other Accident in *Europe* would have had just the same Effect.

Besides, it ought to be consider'd, that although the particular Year, Month or Day, on which King *Augustus* would die, could not be foreseen; yet it was well known that he was above Threescore Years of Age, and in a very infirm State of Health. No wise People therefore would care to pay for an Annuity of Peace upon such a Life; and we ought, at least, to have been secured against a Contingency, which could not be very far off, according to the ordinary Course of Nature.

This Affair of the *Polish* Election has already been pretty well accounted for, as to our Share in it; as hath also our Conduct during the War. Our Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction did not induce us to assist our Ally, whom we saw deprived of those very Dominions, *Naples* and *Sicily*, to procure which we had been at the Expence of a Sort of War with *Spain*. When the Emperor was sufficiently *humbled*, and the House of *Austria* reduced into *due*
Bounds,

Bounds, we, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, offer'd our Mediation to accommodate Matters. But to what Purpose? The Allies insisted on high Terms, till his Imperial Majesty, as he seem'd rather to chuse, threw himself into the Hands of his greatest Enemy, the King of *France*, and accepted of such Conditions as he thought proper to give him. We seem'd intirely to have lost our Weight in this Affair, of which I will only say, that it looks as if we were still weigh'd in the wrong Scale, that of *Hanover*.

I have now gone through all the material foreign Transactions, except those with *Spain* regarding Commerce, that distinguish'd the late Administration. Upon a Review of them, and remarking the great Number of Treaties in that Period, may we not, with the Writer of the *Craftsman* (in answer to the *Gazetteer*, who charg'd all our Perplexities and Misfortunes since, upon the Treaty of *Utrecht*) give the following Genealogy * :

' The Treaty of *Utrecht* begot the Treaty
F f 4 ' of

* *Vide the Craftsman of May the 9th, 1741.*

of 1716; and the Treaty of 1716 begot
 the Quadruple Alliance, in 1717; and
 the Quadruple Alliance begot the Private
 Treaty in 1721; and the Private Treaty
 in 1721 begot the Congress of *Cambray*;
 and the Congress of *Cambray* begot the
 first *Vienna* Treaty, and the first *Vienna*
 Treaty begot the Treaty of *Hanover*; and
 the Treaty of *Hanover* begot the Preli-
 minaries, and the Preliminaries begot the
 Congress of *Soissons*; and the Congress of
Soissons begot the Convention of the *Pardo*,
 and the Convention of the *Pardo* begot the
 Provisional Treaty; and the Provisional
 Treaty begot the Treaty of *Seville*, and the
 Treaty of *Seville* begot the second *Vienna*
 Treaty; and the second *Vienna* Treaty begot
 the last ever-memorable Convention, and
 the last Convention begot the War; and it
 is to be hoped, that when we are quite im-
 poverish'd, the War will beget a Peace,
 according to the Proverb. --- These two
 last Articles, the Convention, with the Ne-
 gotiations previous to it, and the Conduct of
 the War, remain to be consider'd.

S E C T. IX.

*Negotiations and Transactions with Spain,
concerning Trade and Navigation, down
to the Convention in 1739.*

THE chief Points of Quarrel, between *Spain* and us, were, their calling in Question our Right to navigate the *American Seas*, and the plundering of our Merchants, and interrupting our Commerce, upon a Title that the Nation, whatever the Minister might, would not allow. That we may set the Arguments on either Side in a fair Light, and see how far the late great Man offer'd, or gave up our Claims, it is proper to give a History of all the Transactions, between the Courts of *London* and *Madrid*, that regarded this Affair, between the Year 1721 and the last Rupture.

In the Year 1718, the Losses, which our Merchants had till that Time sustain'd, were set forth by the Ministers, and not

by

by themselves. It was urged by Those*, who then opposed them, that they were enhanced and aggravated, to serve a particular Purpose. The Complaint, at that Time, arose chiefly, if not singly, from the Number of Ships taken in the Bay of *Campeachy*, which were cutting of Logwood. The Causes of our present Complaints, and the Reasons on which they are founded, seem to be of later Days. The Treaty of 1721 renew'd and confirm'd all our former Treaties, and his late Majesty communicated it to his Parliament soon afterwards. Both Houses immediately congratulated him upon the Renewal of all our Treaties of Commerce with *Spain*. If there have been any Objections to the mercantile Part of the Treaty, with Respect to the present Consideration, they have not been heard of in Publick. But whenever that Treaty is named, it ought not to be forgot who then enjoy'd the most considerable Places.

From this Time, we heard no more of the Complaints and Losses of our Merchants, till

* Mr. W. and his Party.

till the Year 1726; when it was the pretended Cause of sending out two mighty Fleets for their Protection; the one under Sir *John Jennings*, and the other under Admiral *Hofier*. Then, indeed, the dormant Sufferings and Injuries of our Traders were sounded to the highest Pitch, in order to colour other Motives, as Time hath sufficiently evinced. By what was urged by our Ministers, at that Time, there are blustering and high Words enough, back'd by no one Action, stating no one Fact, nor any one Assertion of our particular Rights, in Opposition to the groundless and unwarrantable Pretensions of the *Spaniards*. On the contrary, they answered our Complaints, and asserted their pretended Rights openly and avowedly.

That Master-piece of Policy, the *Hanover Alliance*, was so compleatly successful as to answer all the Ends proposed by it; *Spain* was no longer the unnatural Ally of the Emperor, but that of *France*; and the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria* was reduced as low as could then be wish'd.--- If any Thing could sully its Glory, it must be

be the Methods that were taken to inflame the Nation against the *Kienna* Treaty; amongst which, nothing was more absurd, or contrary to common Sense, than the Privileges, which were pretended to be granted to the Emperor's Subjects, by the *Kienna* Treaty, beyond what we enjoy'd; whereas they only had the same Privileges granted to them, which we enjoy'd before, by a particular Reference made to our own Treaties.

If an Objection should arise, that the Treaty of 1670, which was most declarative of our Rights, ceased by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; it follows, that they ought to have reinforced the old declarative Treaty, or repeal'd that Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* which took away its Effect.

The Act of the *Pardo*, of the 6th of *March*, 1728, was made for the Execution of the Preliminaries between us and *Spain*, sign'd at *Paris*, *May* 31st 1727; the 3d Article of which Preliminaries is to the following Effect; " That all Privileges of Commerce, which the *English* and *French* Nations, and the States of the United
" *Netherlands*,

“ *Netherlands*, have heretofore, by Virtue
 “ of Treaties, enjoy’d, as well in *Europe* as
 “ in *Spain* and the *Indies*, shall be restored
 “ to that Usage and Regulation, which
 “ are according to what was stipulated
 “ with each of them by Treaties, antecede-
 “ dent to the Year 1725.”

Now by the Convention, these Words,
Usage and Regulation, were reserved to the
Spaniards to cavil about, by making the
 Act of the *Pardo* one of those Treaties,
 which are enumerated in it; whereas,
 had they been left out, all our Treaties
 would have been confirmed, simply and
 plainly. These Words therefore were, at
 least, unnecessary, and could only serve to
 furnish the *Spaniards* with an Handle to jus-
 tify their After-Proceedings.

Upon these Disappointments, our Mer-
 chants thought it necessary to lay their
 Complaints themselves before the Parliament;
 since Experience had now shew’d them,
 that tho’ the Ministers occasionally founded
 their Grievances very high, they provided
 for no Restitution, or future Security. All
 possible Endeavours were used to prevent
 this

this Petition being brought into the House of Commons. Our Merchants were treated with the utmost Scurrility, by the ministerial Writers. They were represented every where as a Parcel of Smugglers, and their Losses as justifiable Seizures. They were brow-beaten, and their Sufferings depreciated, in that Place, where only they sought and could hope for Redress. Notwithstanding all these Practices, the Force of Truth, and its own Weight, made it necessary that the House should come to some Resolution upon it. It was then resolved that, “ from the Peace concluded at
 “ *Utrecht*, in 1713, to this Time, the
 “ *British* Trade and Navigation, to and
 “ from the several Colonies in *America*,
 “ have been greatly interrupted by the
 “ continual Depredations of the *Spaniards*,
 “ &c. in manifest Violation of the Treaties
 “ subsisting between the two Crowns.”
 Is it not strange that this Grievance should have been of so long a standing, and nothing done to remedy it, nor any Restitution made in all that Time?

This

This humble Address of Parliament embarrass'd our Negotiators a little. Their Sentiments, both at home and abroad, were well known. But yet something must be done in their next Treaty, which might be imagined to have some Correspondence with this humble Advice to the Throne. We were desir'd to think that the Treaty of *Seville*, in 1729, had sufficiently taken care of our Merchants. The Minister himself, who knows his own Power of convincing, endeavour'd to prove it, and took some Pains to do it. In his Observations on the Treaty, in which he was not sparing of his own Commendations, nor in abusing those who oppos'd him, he said that, " by the
 " Articles of this Treaty, our Merchants
 " are intitled to Restitution of all Ships and
 " Effects that have been at any Time taken
 " from them, contrary to the Treaty of
 " *Utrecht*." This, which every body might have expected to see in one clear Article, was spread into the first, second, fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty, and the first separate Article, according to his
 own

own Interpretation of them, which he thinks a sufficient Provision. But was it ever thought that we should want such a Number of Articles for this Purpose, which serve rather to blind than clear up any thing? Time hath shewn us that those, who could not be convinced by him, were right in their Apprehensions that this Treaty could not, or would not, obtain any Reparation to our injured Merchants, who were only tantalized in this Manner, that their Complaints might be laid asleep for a Time.

The next Year, our Merchants petition'd the Parliament again, upon the same Subject. For this they likewise underwent the same scurrilous Abuses from the ministerial Writers, as they had before. But the House of Commons in their Address to the Throne, upon this Occasion, went a little higher than in their last; for they desired his Majesty, "to continue his Endeavours to prevent the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, for the future; to procure full Satisfaction for the Damages already ready

“ ready sustained ; and to secure to the
 “ *British* Subjects the full and uninterrupt-
 “ ed Exercise of their Trade and Naviga-
 “ tion to and from the *British* Colonies in
 “ *America.*” All, that had been hitherto
 done, deserv’d no Commendation, at least ;
 since it produced no Effect, as appears by
 this Address itself.

Our Merchants, not being to be paid by
 Words alone, though perhaps soften’d and
 silenced for a Time, seeing their Hardships
 continuing, the Complaints follow’d them ;
 which made it necessary to send more vi-
 gorous Orders, for their Protection, to the
 Commanders of our Fleet. The Words
 were strong ; for they were to make Re-
 prials in such Cases, which they never once
 did. But the Commissaries not meeting, as
 was stipulated in the Treaty of *Seville*,
 something must be obtained from *Spain* to
 stop the present Clamours, and to prevent
 our Men of War being obliged to execute
 those necessary Orders, which in the Conse-
 quence might have involved us in Hostilities
 again. The mighty Boon obtain’d, and
 which was afterwards communicated to the

House of Commons, as a great Point, was first a Schedules of the King of *Spain* to his Governors in *America*, "forbidding all
 " his Subjects to molest or abuse the *Eng-*
 " *lish*, or any of their Ships, that shall sail
 " in those Seas, as long as they keep with-
 " in their proper Distances, and are not
 " concern'd in any illicit Trade."—— This corresponds too well with their Justification, in the Year 1726; that the Places, where our Ships were met and taken, was a Proof of a Navigation forbidden by the Tenor of Treaties. The other, which was of more Importance, * "being a Declaration of the
 " Ministers of their *Britannick* and *Ca-*
 " *tholick* Majesties, by Virtue of their Or-
 " ders. The Ministers of both Courts were so unwilling to enter into the real Pretences for these Captures, that they put it only upon the Foot of the Continuance of Hostilities, notwithstanding the Arrival of his Catholick Majesty's Orders at *Carthagena*, and the Signing of the Treaty
 of

* Dated *Seville*, Feb. 8. 1732, N. S.

of *Seville* ; by Virtue of which, Reparation was to be made for all Hostilities.

The Remedy provided for the future was equally admirable ; which runs thus :

“ His Catholick Majesty also promises and
 “ engages, by this Declaration, that when-
 “ ever any Privateers shall have Leave to
 “ fit out to Sea, in order to prevent Con-
 “ traband Trade, pursuant to the Laws
 “ and Ordinances of the *Indies*, which
 “ have not been derogated from by the
 “ Treaties, they shall be obliged to give
 “ Security, &c.” — That Privateers

should give Security, was, no Doubt, a new and mighty Point obtain'd, however ridiculous it may appear to some Persons : But that an *English* Minister should thus authenticate the Laws and Ordinances of the *Indies*, is very surprising ; since he could not help knowing that they clashed with our Treaties, and that it was on them the Injuries of our Merchants were founded : For those Laws and Ordinances only have made our Ships liable to Confiscation, for having Logwood, Cocoa Nuts, and Pieces of Eight on board ; and, perhaps,

have described the Course an *English* Vessel is to steer in; all which is directly contrary to Treaties, and for the Sake of which alone the Privateers are fitted out.

These Things being obtain'd, Orders were immediately dispatch'd to the *West-Indies* with them, for suspending the former Orders for Reprisals; which were likewise renew'd again, upon the Continuance of the Captures, and the Conviction that what we had so lately boasted of was not obtain'd. The Merchants and the Nation were amused, in this Manner, till at length the Commissioners met, in the Beginning of the Year 1732, and great was the Expectation from them; which suspended the Clambours for some Time, on the Account of our Losses.

But to baffle these Hopes, we had the Mortification to find that the first Affair, which occur'd after the Opening of their Commission, was a Demand made by the *Spanish* Commissioners, that there should be immediately paid by the *South-Sea* Company the full Duties for *Negroes*, amounting to 30,000 *l.* per Annum, to be reckon'd from

from the Pacification. They insisted upon a direct Compliance with this Demand, and declared, that otherwise they could not proceed to the Discussion of any other Point.

Now, it was well known to them, and proved by our Commissaries, that for near three Years of the Interval, for which they demanded these Duties, they had deprived the Company of their Trade, and had prohibited their Vessels from entering *Spanish* Ports.

With such an happy Augury did this Commission open, by a Demand made for Duties, at a Time when no Trade was permitted. The Foundation of this Claim too was very remarkable, as it amounted to this, that *Spain* insisted on the Duties from a certain past Period, not because she had at that Time open'd the Trade, but because she had promis'd to do it, and had broken her Faith.

Indeed, the *Spanish* Commissaries did at last, after a Month's Dispute, consent to abate of their first Demands : But what we granted by way of Compromise to them,

on this Head, was very prejudicial to the acknowledg'd Rights of the Company; and our Compliance afterwards drew upon the Company a Pretension still more extraordinary: For in one of the Conferences, it was urged by us, that as before the Rupture, the Company, by the Vexation of the *Spanish* Officers, had been often prevented from introducing the whole Number of Negroes according to Agreement, though at the same Time they had paid the full Duties; it was therefore hoped, that an Allowance would be made them for what they had thus overpaid. But it was reply'd by the *Spanish* Commissaries, that the Company were to expect, on this their Confession, that the King their Master, instead of granting them any thing on this Head, would insist on Reparation for the Damage which his Dominions had sustain'd, by not being supply'd with the whole Number of Negroes, as stipulated by the *Affiento* Treaty.

This Affair being thus dispatch'd, the *Spanish* Commissaries agreed to the mutual Exchange of the respective Claims on either Side; which being done, they in the next Place

Place declared, that whereas the King their Master hath an indisputable Right, by the Gift of Pope *Alexander* the 6th, &c. to the Property and Dominion of all the Continents, Islands and Seas adjacent, “ either
 “ already discover’d, or that shall be here-
 “ after discover’d, between the *Arctic* and
 “ *Antarctic* Poles, an hundred Leagues
 “ Westward of the Islands *des Azores*; ex-
 “ cepting those Places, which have since, by
 “ Agreement with his Catholick Majesty,
 “ been possess’d by other Princes; and
 “ whereas the *British* Nation have intro-
 “ duced themselves into the said Dominions,
 “ without the Consent of his said Catho-
 “ lick Majesty, particularly into the Islands
 “ of *New Providence*, *St. Catharine*, *St.*
 “ *Andrews*, *Port-Royal*, &c. and within
 “ the Limits of *Florida*; the *British* Com-
 “ missaries ought to agree that the above-
 “ mentioned Places be evacuated, and that
 “ all others which have been possess’d in
 “ the like Manner, should be left free and
 “ unmolested; or that the *British* Nation
 “ shall make appear, that they are in Pos-
 session

“ session of them, by Virtue of an Agreement with his Catholick Majesty.”

And in Consequence of this their pretended Dominion in the *American Seas*, the *Spanish* Commissaries at the same Time insisted that, in order to avoid the Hostilities of *Spain*, the Ships of *Great-Britain* or her Colonies, passing thro’ those Seas, shall not vary from their proper Course.

To enumerate all the Affronts, to which we meanly submitted from the Hands of that imperious Nation, during the Continuance of these Conferences, would be needless: We shall only observe, that all the Proceedings, on their Side, were one continued Insult on our Understandings, and an ostentatious Contempt of our Power. * If our Commissaries demanded the Payment of Money, due from the *Spanish* Court to our Merchants by private Contract, which had been many Years refused them by the Offices where they ought to have been paid; the *Spanish* Commissaries answer’d, that the Payment in Question being the proper

* See No. 50 of Papers laid before the House of Commons in 1735.

proper Business of these Officers, they could not intermeddle in it, or take any Cognizance of it. If Restitution was demanded for *British* Ships illegally taken, where Orders for Restitution had long been granted by the *Spanish* Court, but which were never comply'd with by their Governors abroad; we were answer'd, that as they had dispatch'd Orders for Redress, they would not enter farther into the Discussion of the Affair.—If we gave the most authentick Proofs of our Vessels being illegally taken by their *Guarda Costa's*, they told us that they could only be determin'd by their own Condemnations in the Ports where the Prizes happen'd to be carry'd; an Account of which they always promis'd to send for: And yet so little were even these Accounts to their Mind, though drawn up for the most Part by the very Pirates themselves, that after near a Year's Delay, they denied their having been able, even in all that Interval, to procure any one Account from their own People; though it was well known that many had been transmitted to them long before that Time.

During

During this insolent Contempt of our most equitable Claims, they often determin'd their own Pretensions, in their own Favour, and thereupon issued their decisive Orders, without ever proposing to discuss them at a Conference; though they were of such a Nature as, by the Treaty of *Seville*, were expressly referr'd to the Examination of Commissaries, as disputable Points.—When our Commissaries complain'd of their peremptory Decision, according to their own Interests, the very Points which it was the Business of their Conferences mutually to determine; they were answer'd, that the Right of the King their Master was so indisputable, that all Contentions about it would appear scandalous.

In short, notwithstanding all our repeated Advances and Submissions, our Commissaries did not procure from *Spain* the least Acknowledgment of any of our Claims, however just or unquestionable; nor the least Reparation for any of those Robberies, by which, in Defiance of the most solemn Treaties, we had been plunder'd, at different
Times,

Times, of more than one Million of Pounds Sterling.

Thus, after several Years fruitless Attendance, the Commission broke up. This convinced our Merchants of the Fruitlessnes of complaining any more; and had the *Spaniards* been but a little more moderate, they might have prevented any farther Applications to Parliament. But their Depredations and Insults were carried to such an Height at last, that our Merchants were under a Necessity of applying again, in 1738, or intirely give up the Trade to our own Colonies in the *West-Indies*. Every Artifice was made use of to prevent this Application. The ministerial Writers were again instructed to abuse our Merchants. But they soon run through their Common-place upon this Subject. The Thing itself came now to be thought of more Importance to the Nation than it had hitherto been, by vast Numbers of People. Our Being, as a Nation, was visibly concern'd in the Question; and the Necessity of stating our Rights clearly, from the Nature of the Disquisition, became in a Manner unavoidable; tho' in some Parts it was

was prevented, and in others labour'd
 against sufficiently. After an Examination,
 the most solemn and affecting that was ever
 known in a House of Commons, it was re-
 solved, upon a Division, "That it was our
 " natural and undoubted Right to sail with
 " our Ships on any Part of the Seas of
 " *America*; and that the Freedom of our
 " Navigation and Commerce had been
 " greatly interrupted by the *Spaniards*, un-
 " der Pretences altogether groundless and
 " unwarrantable."

There was an Endeavour to propose some
 other Questions, which were thought ne-
 cessary, because they would more fully and
 plainly have asserted our Rights; but they
 were over-ruled. Yet this, with the Ad-
 dress, was surely sufficient for the Minister,
 at least, to point out the true Cause of our
 Complaints; the Necessity of suffering such
 Injuries no longer; and providing for our
 future Security, as it is rightly express'd in
 their Address, and his Majesty's most gra-
 cious Answer. There were many Reasons
 for inducing some Persons to think it more
 necessary to have asserted our several Rights

separately, in Opposition to the Grievances we had so long labour'd under; considering that those general Resolutions, which the House formerly made, had been of no more Service to the unhappy Sufferers, than the many long Negotiations and Treaties, with respect to them. It now fully appear'd, that the Claim of *Spain* was become more openly avow'd, and peremptorily insisted on, than ever it had been before: For in the Demands of the * Commissioners, on the Part of *Spain*, in Pursuance of the Treaty of *Seville*, it is said, "That, by the 8th Article of the Treaty of 1667, the *British* Commerce is under the same Restrictions as *Holland* is, by the 6th Article of the Treaty of *Münster*;" and therefore it is insisted on, "That Ships sailing from *Great-Britain*, or her Colonies, through those Seas, shall observe the Course they ought to steer, and shall avoid Hostilities."

The very Supposition that the Treaty of 1670 was of no Use to us, as well as prescribing a particular Course to our Ships, was

* *Vide* the Papers laid before the House of Commons, relating to this Affair, No. 29, Art. 29.

was extremely surprising. But even this was carried much farther by Monf. *de la Quadra*, in his Letter to Mr. *Keene* :

“ The only Navigation, says he, that
 “ can be claim’d by the *English*, be-
 “ ing that to their Islands and Plantations,
 “ while they steer a due Course; their
 “ Ships are liable to a Seizure and Con-
 “ fiscation, if it should be proved that
 “ they have alter’d their Route, without
 “ Necessity, in order to draw near to the
 “ *Spanish Coasts*.” Every Body concluded
 from hence, that it was impossible ever to treat
 again with *Spain*, without previously settling
 and establishing our fundamental Rights;
 in this Particular, as the only Basis of any
 future Treaty, in Opposition to their un-
 justifiable Pretences, which have been made
 subservient to so many Acts of Piracy.

The House of Lords, in their Resolu-
 tions upon this important Affair, went far-
 ther than the other House: For they not
 only asserted our undoubted Right to navi-
 gate in the *American Seas*, “ but also to
 “ carry all Sorts of Goods and Merchan-
 “ dize, or Effects, from one Part of his

“ Ma-

" Majesty's Dominions to any other Part
 " thereof; and that no Goods, being so
 " carried, are, by any Treaty subsisting be-
 " tween the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and
 " *Spain*, to be deem'd or taken as contra-
 " band or prohibited Goods; and that
 " the Searching of such Ships, on the open
 " Seas, under Pretence of their carrying
 " contraband or prohibited Goods, is a
 " Violation and Infraction of the Treaties
 " subsisting between the two Crowns."

This Resolution not only shew'd the Abuse
 of Treaties, on the *Spaniards* Side, but as-
 serted our Rights, and made it, one would
 have thought, impossible to have any new
 Treaty, without first establishing those
 Rights: For in vain must it be thought to
 cure our Disease by pecuniary Remedies,
 whilst the Evil is suffer'd not only to re-
 main, but even receiving some Sort of
 Countenance, by being left to a future Dis-
 cussion.

The Minister now saw himself under
 the Necessity of giving Way to the Cur-
 rent. He acknowledged the Justness of
 the general Complaint; promised that the
 most

most effectual Means should be employ'd for Redress, during the Summer; and, on its being insinuated, that those Promises would prove as little effectual as his former Efforts of the same Kind, he was pleas'd to ask, *How he should be able to shew his Face again in that House, if he did not procure full Reparation for the Honour of the Nation, as well as for the Losses of our Merchants?*

Accordingly, when the Parliament was risen, we put almost our whole Navy into Commission; and so strongly was the Public perswaded, that we should then really attempt to procure ourselves Justice by our Arms, that even those, who still question'd the Sincerity of these military Preparations, scarcely dared to avow their Suspicions.

However, towards the latter End of the Summer, our hostile Measures were suspended; and we were told, that *Spain*, terrify'd with the Apprehension of a War, had granted us all we could reasonably demand, and had submitted to whatever we could have hoped for, even at the End of the most successful War. This, had it been

true,

true, was a very fortunate Event ; for surely if all, that could be expected from a successful War, was granted us without a Blow, our Governors must have been mad not to have accepted it.

What our reasonable Demands were, which we expected would have been by these Means secured to us, are very well known. What the Nation insisted upon was, not the Promises of *Spain* for future Reparation, and future Restraints on her *Guarda Costa's*. These, as we have seen already, had been four Times re-iterated, and as often evaded, without even a Pretence assign'd.

Much less was it an Agreement that our mutual Pretensions should be settled by a distant Negotiation. For it would have been an unheard-of Piece of Meanness, after we had been thus injured, had often demanded Redress in vain, and had arm'd ourselves to procure it, to disarm and confide again in our Enemy, meerly upon his Promise that he would hereafter treat with us ; and still more ridiculous would this Conduct have been with regard to *Spain*,

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of

of whose Candour in Negotiation we had above ten Years such shameful Experience.

In short, no Promises of *Spain*, however explicit, ought alone to have induced us to disarm; for as they could not be more solemn than those we had long ago procured, the trusting in them again, after the numerous Instances of her Perfidy, was increasing her Insolence, and in a Manner throwing away all the Treasure which the Preparations for War had cost us.

In order to have treated with Honour, it was necessary that, before we had suspended our military Measures, *Spain* should have convinced us that she really design'd to grant us that Justice, which we had so long sued for in vain. This would have been effectually done, by immediately securing to us the Payment of those Sums, which could not be deny'd by her to be due, for the Seizures and Confiscations of the Effects belonging to *British* Subjects, amounting to near 700,000 l.

As we were told, that the Terror of our Arms had induced *Spain* to grant us all

we

We fought by a War, it was likewise expected by the Public, that before we disarm'd ourselves, that Court should have formally disavow'd her pretended Dominion in the Seas of *America*, and her Practice of Searching our Ships; which she founded, as we have seen, in an imaginary Sovereignty.

These Preliminaries being establish'd, we might then, indeed, have disarm'd ourselves with Honour: But how great was our Surprise, when, many Months after our military Preparations had been laid aside, it was confess'd by the Minister, that nothing had been yet agreed on. What likewise augmented the general Uneasiness, was a Discovery said to be made in that Interval, that our Fleets sent out, during the Summer, to the *West-Indies*, and to the *Mediterranean*, carried with them no Orders to act offensively, or to make any Reprisals, tho' they departed from hence long before the pretended Submission of *Spain*; and at a Time, when the Minister made the strongest Protestations of his resolute Intentions.

This Conduct made it become generally suspected, that all these boasted Preparations were never design'd against our Enemies, but only to amuse our own People at home, till *Spain* was prevail'd upon by our Intreaties to condescend to treat with us upon any Terms, in order that something, bearing the Appearance of an Agreement, might be produced before the Meeting of Parliament; which, however insufficient, might at least serve as an annual Expedient of Delay, if it could not be imposed on the Nation as satisfactory and honourable.

But the Insolence of *Spain* was so much inflated by these Measures, that no Agreement could be procured from that Court, till after the usual Time of the Sitting of the Parliament, which was prorogued in Expectation of it, and afterwards adjourn'd, in order to get the *Convention* ratified. However, during the Prorogation and Adjournment, the long expected *Convention* arrived, and was soon after publish'd to the Nation.

The chief Point was, to make it pass the two Houses of Parliament, by procuring

an Address of Thanks to his Majesty, for communicating it to them; which at the same Time would be esteemed an Approbation of the Measures. The Motion met with great Opposition, but was at last carry'd in the *Affirmative* in both Houses, in the Commons by a Majority of 28. It was on this Occasion that Lists of the Members were publish'd, which made it too manifest what was the Weight which preponderated against the Sense of the Nation. Many Gentlemen, seeing every thing thus carry'd before the Minister, retired into the Country, and gave no more Attendance during the whole Session; and about 40 Lords enter'd their Protest, upon its receiving the Approbation of their House.

By this *Convention*, Plenipotentiaries were to meet at *Madrid* within six Weeks after the Ratification, and to settle all disputed Points within eight Months: The Sum of 95,000 *l.* was to be paid to us, by way of Balance for the Losses of our Merchants; which, with 60,000 *l.* allow'd to *Spain* for their Ships destroy'd in 1718, made the

whole 155,000 *l*. These were the chief Articles; but the King of Spain, by a private Declaration, prior to the Signature of the *Convention*, reserved to himself the Right of suspending the *Assiento* of Negroes, for the Sum of 68,000 *l*. said to be due to him from the *South-Sea Company*. A Copy of this Declaration was by some Means got, and publish'd, before it was laid before the Parliament, which in all likelihood it had never been, if kept a Secret.

I shall only extract a few Remarks on this *Convention*, from the Pamphlets I have hitherto refer'd to, and conclude this Section.

' Before we were so much improved in these Arts, says the Author of the *Review*, Treaties were always design'd and calculated for ascertaining the Rights of the Parties in Dispute. When these Points were once settled, the Adjustment of Accounts, being of an inferior Nature, were left to Commissioners. But in this most surprising Contract, the very Nature and Order of Things seem to be inverted; for the Commissary-Part is the only Thing settled and determin'd through the whole, by fixing it to a certain

certain Payment, for Balance of an Account; and having first acted the Commissioners, the Part of Plenipotentiaries is to be the next. These Gentlemen are to find out and settle our Rights, and consequently what this Money is paid for. It seems scarcely possible that, during the Settlement of this Account, if it was not in a Manner hump, but that both Sides must sufficiently know their Rights and Grievances, and be as well, if not better able, to adjust and allow their respective Claims, for the future, than it was probable they would be eight Months after. Can it be conceived that it was not the first Thing thought of, on our Side, since it was from thence alone that we made our Claim to Restitution? Was it possible that our Rights, with respect to Searching our Ships, could be better known, eight Months after, than it was then; or that we should be better able, or more ready to enforce them? Would the Necessities of the Minister make him more desirous of establishing them, if he ever thought or design'd to do it? Could he flatter himself that it would be satisfactory to the Nation, though

he might hope that the Clamours of particular Sufferers might be soften'd by it? Could it be suppos'd, that what we could not get from *Spain*, at this critical Juncture, was really design'd to be allow'd us, and obtain'd by Plenipotentiaries, eight Months afterwards?

Is it not generously done, to pay *Spain* 60,000 *l.* and to obtain 68,000 *l.* more for them from the *South-Sea* Company; which, with the 27,000 *l.* being all that is pretended *Spain* should pay, makes so great a Sum as 155,000 *l.* to be disposed of for Reparation amongst our Merchants, whose Losses are computed by themselves to be 430,000 *l.*?

What must we now think of all our Complaints of Losses, for twenty five Years, without any Restitution; the frequent Seizures of the Effects of the *South-Sea* Company; the many Complaints in Parliament; the great Squadrons sent to protect our Trade, and procure Reparation; what, I say, must we think upon seeing all our Negotiations sum'd up, in this Manner, and ending in a Balance, upon the whole, of 27,000 *l.* to be paid by
Spain,

Spain, and even That perhaps in Words only.

Upon this State of the Case, every impartial Person must imagine that the Losses were inconsiderable; and that the only Thing necessary to be obtain'd, after all, was future Security by asserting our Rights.

---But this cannot be so much as pretended to be done by this Treaty; since every thing is refer'd to the Regulation of Plenipotentiaries, before another Session of Parliament. The Restitution to our Merchants of 155000*l.* for their Losses of 430,000*l.* cannot be esteem'd satisfactory.---The paying for the *Spanish* Fleet, in this Manner, after the Delivery of it had been offer'd and refused in 1721, was what every *Englishman* must sensibly feel in his own Breast---The giving up of *Georgia* (supposed to be understood in the Article for settling the Limits of *Florida* and *Carolina*) will be esteem'd very dishonourable to the Legislature, which hath pass'd so many Acts for maintaining it.—The *South-Sea* Company's paying down 68,000*l.* when much larger Sums, even by the *Spaniards* own Account, are allow'd to be due
to

to Them, is a Sort of Justice, which never appeared in any Treaty before.—In this short Light is contain'd the whole Substance of the present Treaty.

With regard to the seceding Members, whose Conduct was blamed by the ministerial Writers, the Author of the *Address* tells us, in his Postscript, ' They chose therefore to withdraw, after they had borne their Testimony against it, lest even their Attendance, and fruitless Opposition, might seem to justify, and give a Sanction to Measures, which they could not approve: For it is the old Cant Way of arguing amongst Men in Power, that their Measures must certainly be right, because they had received the Approbation of Parliament; tho' perhaps they might have previously secured a Majority to themselves, by Places, Pensions, Promises, Threatenings, and other courtly Methods of the same Nature. Besides, these Gentlemen never remember, or rather, affect to forget, the Case of the late Earl of Oxford, who was impeach'd of High Treason, in one Parliament, for concluding a Treaty, which was voted *just, wise, and*
honour-

honourable, by a former Parliament; and every body knows *who* * had the principal Management of that Prosecution.

As much as the late *Convention* was extol'd by the ministerial Party, and even said to contain all that could be expected at the End of the most successful War; yet it very soon appear'd to be as ineffectual as any of our former Treaties, and fully justify'd the Apprehensions of those Gentlemen who oppos'd it. It was, indeed, the most short-lived Treaty that ever was made, and resembles the Animal on the Banks of the Nile, which is said to perform all the Functions of Life in one Day.

For, upon the *South-Sea Company's* refusing to pay the unjust Demand of 68,000*l.* stipulated by our Minister at *Madrid*, without their Consent, the Court of *Spain* peremptorily refused to pay any Part of the 95,000*l.* which was agreed upon, as a pretended Reparation for the Losses of our Merchants; and thus the Time stipulated for the Payment of it elapsed; by which

the

* *Vide p. 31 & seq.*

the *Convention* was, in Effect, dissolved. Nor could the Court of *Spain* be prevail'd upon, by all the pathetic Remonstrances of our Plenipotentiaries, to proceed upon the other Points refer'd to them, without making the Payment of this 68,000 *l.* and the Revocation of our Fleet, two necessary Preliminaries. They likewise refused to give up their insolent Claim of Searching our Ships on the High Seas, and even insisted on their Right to some of our Possessions in the *West-Indies*. This put an End to the Conferences; upon which Mr. *Keene* presented a thundering Declaration to the Court of *Madrid*, which was follow'd by an Order of Council at home, for granting Letters of Marque and Reprisal to our Merchants. The Preamble to this Order breathes a true Spirit of Resentment, and had the Honour to be sign'd by the two Archbishops, and some other Privy Counsellors, in the Absence of the Minister, who prudently retired into the Country, upon this Occasion. for the Payment of it elapsed

I will only add, that this Order of Council was issued the 10th of *July*, and that a

Decla-

Declaration of War was publish'd the 23d of *October* following.

S E C T. X.

Conduct of the War.

IT was long since the People of *Great-Britain* had been so well pleased with any one Measure of the Court, as they were upon the Declaration of War against *Spain*. They had now Hopes of procuring, not only Satisfaction for past Depredations and Insults, but Security against any such for the future, and for their free Navigation in the *American Seas*. It was well and publicly known, that the Minister's Approbation was wanting on this Occasion; but it was hardly suspected, that he would endeavour to render ineffectual what was undertaken with such general Consent of the whole Nation. He did indeed call it the Merchants War, disclaim'd any Part in the engaging in it, and seem'd not to think himself accountable for the Success of it. This made some imagine,

gine, that we should soon see new Hands in the Administration, and that the same Gentleman who had so strongly opposed, would not pretend to conduct, a War on which so much depended. If it had so happen'd, he had only been accountable for those Measures which made a War necessary, and might perhaps have avoided some Part of the Censure, which his Fellow-Subjects have since pass'd on him. But as Things have been managed, they cannot help thinking, that the War itself was turn'd upon them, instead of being push'd to their Advantage, and to obtain a Redress of their Sufferings, from a haughty contemptible People. The little that has been done, where much was reasonably expected; the Inactivity of Officers, who were known not to want either personal Courage, or Zeal for their Country; the Discountenance shewn to *one* Man, who dared to act more bravely, till the Parliament pass'd a Sanction upon his Actions; the Distress he was afterwards put to, and the Impossibility he was laid under of effecting any thing farther; the Security of the *Spanish* Coasts, while prodigious Fleets were

were hovering round them; the Precariousness of our own Trade, and the numerous Captures made by the Enemy, while we seem'd not only able to protect ourselves, but to distress them in the most sensible Part; all these are but too many Grounds of Suspicion, at least, if they may not be allow'd to amount to a very great Degree of moral Proof.

It is apparent to the whole Nation, that the War ought to have been prosecuted with the utmost Vigour and Expedition in the *West-Indies*, where alone we could distress our Enemy in the most sensible Manner, and obtain any lasting Advantage to this Nation. Admiral *Vernon* set sail for thence in *July*, 1739, and every body then were in Hopes, that, as a Gentleman of acknowledged Merit and great Experience was pitch'd upon for that Service, it was design'd he should act up to the Spirit of the national Resentment. No body imputed it to him, or to Admiral *Haddock*, that the *Assogue* Ships, in the next Month, got safe into *St. Andero*. Those Ships, instead of coming from *La Vera Cruz* by the *Madera*

or

or *Canary* Islands, as usual, sailed by the *Bahamas*, North about, and then Westward till within Sight of *Ireland*, and so by the Land's End of *England*, made *Ushant*, the Point of *France*; whence creeping along the Shore, they at last cross'd the Bay of *Biscay*. A Squadron of the *English* Fleet was then cruising off *Cadiz* and *Cape Vincent*, and another off *Cape Finesterre*; but the *Spanish* Admiral, by some Means or other, seems to have had Notice of their Stations, and took care not to come within 80 or 100 Leagues. War was not then proclaim'd, and many doubted whether any Orders were given for the Taking of those Ships, because their Effects belonged to other Nations as well as the *Spaniards*.

But I must not dwell on Particulars. Mr. *Vernon* arrived at *Antigua* the 29th of *September*, and the 23d of *October* at *Jamaica*. By the Way he sent and batter'd *La Guara*, upon the *Caracca* Coast. On the 20th of *November* he arrived before *Porto-Bello*; attacked it on the 21st with six Ships only, and on the 22d had it surrender'd by Capitulation. We heard of nothing

nothing for some Time, but Places sack'd, Ships taken, and all Advantages gain'd on our Side. Captain *Hall*, with a small Privateer, and landing only four Men, took Port *La Plata*. The *Spaniards* were in the utmost Consternation, and seem'd neither to have Power nor Inclination to oppose our Progress. Mean while it was well known here, that this Success, great as it was, could not long continue, without more Force than we had in those Parts.* Yet the timely supplying and reinforcing Admiral *Vernon* there, notwithstanding the Knowledge of his most essential Wants, was most shamefully neglected. His Success shews what might have been done, had he been supply'd with a small Number of Land-Forces, sent over from hence, even in the Spring, before our Enemy had Time to strengthen themselves: The not doing of which was an irretrievable Omission, considering our numerous and useless Army kept at home that Year, tho' Transports for 7000 Men were taken up in *December*,

I i

1739.

* Charge against Sir R. W. upon the Motion.

1739. But the Inactivity of our Fleets, tho' fitted out at a monstrous Expence, was soon taken for a sort of Proof, that the Minister had more Desire to tire us than our Enemies. His long losing an Opportunity of beginning by an early and decisive Stroke, which was in his Power, shew'd him extremely unwilling to avenge his Country; and his not lending Succours to Admiral *Vernon* from *November* the 2d, 1739, to the Middle of *June*, 1740, tho' the Apprehensions were very great of the *Spanish* Fleet's being sail'd thither, and superior to him, was certainly a wonderful Instance of ill Policy, if it deserves no harsher an Appellation.

It appears by the Letters laid before the Parliament, the succeeding Winter, that the Admiral more than once complain'd of being lock'd up in Port, and disabled from undertaking any Enterprise, for want of Provisions and Naval Stores. All this while the Enemy were recruiting themselves, repairing their Fortifications, and recovering those Spirits, which, at his first Appearance, had forsaken them. We had even a Dis-

approbation

approbation discover'd at home, by the
 Creatures of the Minister, of what the gal-
 lant Admiral had done, as if it was rash,
 and beyond his Orders. Nay, the Admiral
 himself, in the Letters just refer'd to, makes
 a kind of Excuse for what he had done,
 hoping it might be understood to be within
the Meaning of his Instructions, which plainly
 manifests he had no *positive Instructions* for
 doing it; and it appears that the first In-
 structions received by him, for any Service
 of the same Kind, were after this brave
 Action was perform'd. It was a disputed
 Point, whether he would not be call'd home,
 to give an Account of his thus annoying a
 declared Enemy without direct Leave:
 Which perhaps might have happen'd, if
 his Friends, in both Houses, had not moved
 for Thanks to be sent him in the Name of
 their respective Bodies, and carried their
 Point. This was such a public Approbation,
 that the Minister durst not oppose. And as
 to the Applause Mr. Vernon met with abroad,
 and the Joy that diffus'd itself all over the
 Kingdom upon Notice of his Success, no
Englishman that does not remember the first
 his short *conquest* Link to new glorious

glorious Campaigns of the Duke of *Marlborough*, ever saw the like. How grudgingly this was observed by the great Man, and all his Underlings, the Enemies of our Trade and Prosperity, is too recent to be forgot!

In the same Letters the Admiral complains of empty Store-houses, the Shrouds rotten, his Ships over-masted, and sent to Sea with old Guard-ship Rigging; that he could not keep to Sea for want of Stores, being reduced to the Fate of *Don Blasts* (the *Spanish* Admiral at *Carthagena*) to be laid by the Walls, in a melancholy and forlorn State, and in short treated as if only upon a *Spithead* Expedition.——Would any of these Complaints have been, if those in Power at home had been willing to support him vigorously?

The Suffering the *Cádiz* Squadron to join the *Ferrol* Squadron, and both of them to steal from thence to the *West-Indies*, when either Admiral *Haddock* or Sir *Chaloner Ogle* might have prevented it, was at the best an unaccountable Neglect, and, if not done by Design, must have been occasion'd by wrong Intelligence, or rather by the intire want of Intelligence. These and

two *French* Squadrons getting to the *West-Indies* so long before our Fleet, left our Colonies, and even Mr. *Vernon* himself, in the Condition he then was, exposed to the most imminent Danger. It was owing more to the Weather, and unforeseen Obstructions, than to any Precautions of ours, that this great Force did not effect any thing of Consequence against us.

By what appear'd from the Papers deliver'd to Parliament, the first Notice which our Minister had of the Designs of *France*, came in a Letter from one of our Colonies in *America*, which disclosed the Contracts made in *Ireland* for victualling the *French* Fleet at *Martinico*. This *Latter Lammas* Intelligence was an admirable Instance of the excellent Use made of Secret-Service Money, which the late Minister swell'd to an Article of such great Consequence. —

And yet, late as the Advice came, is it to be credited, that it was many Months after this before the Embargo was laid upon Provisions in *Ireland*; that is, when our Enemy had bought what they *wanted*, we refused to sell them any *more*: Which, with a Wit-

ness, is fulfilling the old *English* Proverb,
*To shut the Stable-door when the Horse is
 stolen.*

If Matters had been mended the next
 Year, after the ill Consequences of such
 Measures had been made apparent, we
 must have imputed to want of Knowledge
 what must now pass for want of Honesty.
 Admiral *Vernon* did indeed take *Fort Chagre*,
 and bombard *Carthagena* in 1740; but was
 left to 1741 before he could make an At-
 tempt on this latter Place, and then not till
 it was too late in the Season. It is fresh
 in every one's Memory, how, when he had
 beaten their Forts about their Ears, sunk
 their Ships, and rode triumphantly in their
 Harbour, the whole Project was unhappi-
 ly disconcerted, and a great Number of gal-
 lant young *Britons* were sacrificed, by the
 supposed Rashness of another Officer, upon
 a separate Command: Yet even this might
 not have been sufficient to render the whole
 Design ineffectual, nor might the Loss have
 been irretrievable, if the Rains, which
 come stately at that Season, and bring
 Sickness along with them (the Nature of
 which

which could not, without Imputation of the most gross Negligence, be unknown to our great Director-General) had not obliged the Army to decamp and reembark.

What shall we say afterwards of the Descent on *Cuba*, and the proposed Establishment at *Cumberland Harbour*? Every Body allow'd, that the Possession of this Island would be the greatest Advantage the *English* could propose in an *American War*. The Admiral did all in his Power, and landed what Men he could to make a Settlement. Had he been properly supported, had Supplies been sent him, as he had Room to expect, to join him on the Island, and make good his Footing there, not only *St. Jago*, but the *Havanna*, might, in all likelihood, by this Time have been ours :

But here too, for want of Support, he was forced to retire with Loss, not to say Disgrace. The *Spaniards* assumed a Courage not natural to them ; and the *English*, seeing themselves neglected, lost in a great Measure the Bravery they carry'd out.

And yet, amidst all these Discouragements, and while our Admiral was dis-

abled from acting offensively, as much was done on the defensive as could be expected. *Vernon*, when he could no longer chastise a proud and insulting Enemy, took such Measures to protect our Trade, that we scarce heard of a Capture in *America* after his Arrival in those Seas. During 16 Years Peace with *Spain* were our Merchants continually plunder'd; for 16 Years was the Nation calling out for vigorous Measures to obtain Satisfaction for what was past, and Security to prevent the like for the future. Our Admiral's Conduct shew'd how easily it might have been done long ago; and who was answerable for the immense Losses, which the Merchants and the Nation suffer'd by its being neglected?

If we look back on what happen'd in *Europe* during the last two Years of the late Administration, we must own there was a brisk and active War betwixt the King of *Spain* and the *English* Merchants; but it looks as if the Men of War, on one Side, had enter'd into a Neutrality, and went to
Sea

Sea for nothing but to look on, and see fair Play.

What an immense Sum did those Fleets cost, which for three or four Years were taking the Air in the *Mediterranean* ! Who can say they took any Thing else ? The Ships, the Towns, the Sea Coasts of the Enemy suffer'd nothing by them.

When a well provided Squadron presented itself before the Bay of *Cadiz*, while the *Spanish* Squadron there lay ready to sail, the whole City was alarm'd ; but behold, when one Night was pass'd, the Fright was over, and no Enemy appear'd. A few Days after they made a second Appearance, and went off as civilly as before. What was the Consequence ? This was the *Spanish* Squadron that sail'd for *America*, and carried with them two or three of the best Battalions of *Spain* to defend *Cartbagera*. It would be well if we knew what secret Service Money is allowed to the Ministers of *Spain*, and how it is applied, that they should have such early Intelligence, that Admiral *Vernon's* Orders were against *Cartbagera*.

Does

Does it not look like a Dream, that near 200 Transports, protected by no more than three miserable *Spanish* Ships of War, should lie for several Weeks in the open Road of *Barcelona*, and should be suffer'd to carry an Army into *Italy*?

This Expedition must have taken up several Months, to equip, man, and victual such a Number of Transports as were necessary for that Enterprize; and yet our C——t seem'd, or pretended, not to know any thing of the Matter. Nay, though the *Spanish* Fleet was dispersed by a Storm, they got together again, and proceeded on their Voyage, without any Molestation, under a Convoy of three Ships only; which is a manifest Proof that they did not apprehend themselves in any great Danger. The *French* Fleet, indeed, sail'd by *Barcelona* and *Carthagena*, without going into Port; but only to shew in a menacing way, that they came to take the *Spaniards* under their Protection, and were ready to assist them against any Power, that should offer to obstruct their Designs. All this while, our *Mediterranean* Admiral was
pru-

prudently sent to block up the Port of *Cadix*; but as soon as the *Barcelona* Fleet was safely put to Sea, he left that Port, and the *Cadix* Squadron afterwards sail'd too, though nobody then knew where, except a few Persons in the Secret.

Must not our Commanders be very ingenious Men, to contrive to sail up the Streights as often as a Fleet is to go out of *Cadix*, and down the Streights, when an Embarkation is to be made at *Barcelona*?

Nobody indeed blamed Admiral *Haddock*, who, as well as *Vernon*, took all possible Care of our Trade, within the Compass of his Province, and undoubtedly would gladly have been really at War with *Spain*, even tho' *France* had taken Part of the Quarrel. If Report say true, the Spirits of this gallant Commander (who gave such noble Instances of his Courage on other Occasions) were quite broken by his restraining Orders, which obliged him to bear the Insults and Menaces of the *French* Admiral, when not only himself, but all the Captains of the Fleet were of Opinion, that he was more than a Match for the united Squadrons of
France

France and Spain. We had from this Time, it is well known, repeated Accounts of that Gentleman's ill State of Health, till he was call'd Home, and Admiral *Matthews* left in his Room. What shall we say of this necromantic Minister, who with a Paper could charm away that *English* Bravery which no Enemy could ever intimidate!—But enough will be said of this pacific War, when I have just taken notice, that the suffering the *Spanish* Fleet to sail from *Barcelona*, and land an Army in *Italy*, gave Rise to the Queen of *Hungary*'s Distress on that Side, which it has already cost us so much to relieve, and to the Expence of which we cannot yet possibly see an End.

Let us now take a short View of this War by way of Profit and Loss, or Debtor and Creditor; which perhaps may be the most proper Way of considering it, according to Sir *R. W.*'s own Sentiments, who was pleased, at the very Beginning of it, to surname it, by way of Contempt and Derision, the **MERCHANTS WAR.**

In a Pamphlet, intitled *Hireling Artifice detected*, publish'd about two Months before the

the

the close of the late Administration, we have a List of 301 * *British* Merchant Ships that had then been seized, taken, or destroy'd by the Enemy, since the Commencement of the War. Then supposing every Ship and Cargo worth 3,500 *l.* the total Loss amounts to 1,053,500 *l.* besides the additional Loss of a vast Number of our Seamen, taken by the Enemy.

If we should allow but twelve Seamen to every Merchant Ship taken, the *British* Seamen, then Captives, would amount to 3612 Men; but as many of them have made their Escape from the Enemy, and as the *Spanish* Privateers have sometimes set the Crew on Shore, when they had more Prisoners than they could safely venture to detain, we may reckon but 3000, most of whom were rotting in *Spanish* Goals, or already starved to death; or forced, by meer Want or Torture, to list with the Enemy, and thereby increase the Number of those Privateers that are employed to destroy the Trade

* In a List publish'd very soon after, and before the Expiration of the ROBINOCRACY, they are made to amount to 337.

Trade of their Country. What Methods have been taken to redeem from Bondage those honest and brave Seamen, who have had Virtue and Resolution enough to withstand the greatest Temptations they are offer'd on one hand, and the terrible Sufferings they are expos'd to on the other, it was impossible to know, because no Cartel had * as yet been settled, or any Exchange made. But on our Side, it is certain, an Exchange ought not to have been neglected or delayed, because there is no Comparison between the Worth of a *British* and that of a *Spanish* Sailor.

To the above Sum our Author adds only 50,000*l.* as the Value of the Houses, Goods, and Effects of our Merchants seized in *Spain*, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, at the Breaking out of the War; which, according to his Information, is the lowest Value can be put upon this Loss; and this makes

* It afterwards appear'd, upon examining Witnesses before the House of Commons upon the Merchants Petition, that the Fault was entirely on this Side, that no such Cartel was settled.

makes our Loss in Ships, Goods and Effects, to be 1,103,500*l*.

He then proceeds to balance this Loss with our Gains by the War. But as he hath no particular Account of the Ships taken from the Enemy, either by our Men of War or Privateers, he is obliged to admit the Account given by a ministerial Hireling, whom he answers, lame as it is. But this servile Calculator, in order to swell up our Gains by the War, is forced to have Recourse to the most deceitful, and at the same time the most ridiculous Artifices, that a knavish Steward ever devised to defraud and impose upon his Master; such as that of charging to the Profit of *England* the Damage we have done the Enemy, without gaining one Shilling Advantage to ourselves, and setting an exorbitant Value upon our real Gains. He gives us several Instances of this in the Articles of *Port Plata*, *Porto Bello*, *Fort Chagre*, *Carthagena*, Privateers and Ships destroy'd; a *French* Ship with a *Spanish* Pass, taken and afterwards discharged; the *Spanish* Ships seized here, and likewise set at Liberty; the

St. Augustine

St. *Augustine* Ship; and the *Princessa* Man of War.—— From all which Articles he deducts the Sum of 786,700*l.* Now when this Sum is deducted from 1,617,400*l.* which is the Sum total of our Profit, by the ministerial Author's own Account, there will remain but 830,700*l.* which is the highest our Profit by the War can be reckon'd to amount to, even supposing that he is right in all his other Articles of Profit; and as it is before shewn, that we have lost by Captures and Seizures at least 1,103,500*l.* the Balance is 272,800*l.* against us, instead of being 1,005,400*l.* in our Favour; which is far from being made good to us by the Ships we have taken from the Enemy, since this Author closed his Account.

As the chief and professed Design of this Treatise was to excite a Parliamentary Enquiry into the Conduct of the War both by Sea and Land, it may not be amiss to quote that Part *verbatim*.

‘ If either House of Parliament were to
 ‘ appoint such a Secret Committee as should
 ‘ be agreeable to the Merchants and Insurers,
 ‘ and impower that Committee to
 ‘ send

' send for Persons, Papers and Records, a
 ' more compleat and authentick List of our
 ' Losses might be drawn up; the true
 ' Cause of them might be discovered; and,
 ' by the Advice of the Merchants, who
 ' (in this Case) are the best Judges, proper
 ' Methods might be taken to prevent like
 ' Misfortunes in Time to come. For, so
 ' far as I can learn, I do not find that those,
 ' whose Duty it was, have ever once con-
 ' sulted with the Merchants, either about
 ' the proper Seasons for sending out Con-
 ' voys, or the proper Stations for our Crui-
 ' sers. If they have neglected to do so, I
 ' hope the Parliament will take care to do
 ' it for them, and appoint proper Persons
 ' for that Purpose. For if the Trade and
 ' Navigation of *Great-Britain* be not a
 ' Subject worthy of a Parliamentary Con-
 ' cern, I do not know what Subject is.
 ' Some People may perhaps imagine our
 ' Parliaments have nothing to do besides
 ' that of granting Money, and making pe-
 ' nal Laws for levying those Grants; but I
 ' may venture to prophesy, if this Maxim
 ' should prevail for twenty Years to come,

' as it seems to have done for twenty Years
 ' past, if our Parliaments should continue to
 ' leave the Care of our Trade and Navi-
 ' gation intirely to our Ministers, the Nation
 ' will soon have little or no Money to grant.
 ' Ministers have alway their Heads so full
 ' of their own Trade, that we can never
 ' expect they will mind the Trade of the
 ' Nation; and therefore I am certain no
 ' Parliament will ever leave the Care of our
 ' Trade intirely to Ministers, unless a Ma-
 ' jority of the Members be such as make a
 ' Trade of the Trust reposed in them by
 ' their Country.'

He likewise compares our Conduct in the
 last great War with that of the present, and
 shews that we are greater Sufferers in Pro-
 portion by this War than by the former,
 considering the different Circumstances of
 those Times and the present: Fortho' the
 Number of Ships taken then, was much
 larger than it is now; yet it must be con-
 sider'd, that in Queen Anne's War we had to
 deal with both *France* and *Spain*, and they
 had such a powerful Navy, that we and the
Dutch were obliged to send out Squadrons
 of

of 50 or 60 Line of Battle Ships, besides Gallies, &c. of which we furnish'd two Thirds, to encounter them at Sea: Whereas in this War, whilst *France* remains neuter, we have no Occasion to fit out any Squadron of above 15 or 16 Line of Battle Ships. — In that War our small Cruisers were every where in continual Danger of being pick'd up by *French* Men of War, and our Convoys were often defeated and taken, with the Merchant-Ships under their Care, by *French* Squadrons: Whereas in this War we have scarcely any such Thing to fear. — In that War the Enemy had Possession of one Side of the Channel, from one End to the other; for *Ostend* was not taken till 1706: Whereas in this War we have no Enemy near the Channel, and all the Ports upon both Sides are open to us, which either our Cruisers or Merchant Ships may safely put into, in Case of Danger, either from the Seas or the Enemy. — In that War, or at least for the first two or three Years of it, the Coasts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*, with the Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca* and *Ivica*,

were in the Enemy's Hands. Whereas in this War, the Coasts of *France* and *Naples*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, are in neutral Hands; and *Gibraltar* at the Mouth of the *Mediterranean*, with *Minorca* in the Middle of it, are our own.

But it ought to be remember'd, that notwithstanding all the Difficulties attending that War, the House of Lords, upon a Complaint made to them by the Merchants, in the Year 1707-8, appointed a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of the Admiralty. And tho' Prince *George of Denmark* was then Lord High-Admiral, yet, notwithstanding his near Relation to the Queen, they appointed an impartial Committee to inquire into the Affair. And what was the Consequence? — Why, the Prince's Council, as Lord High Admiral, were to a Man removed, and a much better, tho' not the best, Care was taken of our Trade during the War. Upon comparing our Circumstances therefore, in this War, with our Circumstances in the late War, there was now greater Reason to suspect

pect Misconduct, and consequently greater Cause for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

Pursuant to the Design of this Piece, the Merchants of *London*, finding the Neglect of their Trade still to continue, appointed a Committee, who drew up a Petition to be laid before the Parliament. This Petition was presented on the 20th of *Jan.* 1741-2, by Sir *Robert Godschall*, then Lord Mayor, and Representative for the City: It set forth,

‘ That the Navigation and Commerce of
 ‘ these Kingdoms had been continually
 ‘ exposed to the growing Insolence of the
 ‘ *Spanish* Privateers, from the Commence-
 ‘ ment of this just and necessary War,
 ‘ notwithstanding the repeated Applica-
 ‘ tions of the suffering Merchants for Pro-
 ‘ tection and Redress: That most of these
 ‘ Misfortunes might have been prevented,
 ‘ considering the Weakness of our Enemy
 ‘ at Sea, had a few of his Majesty’s Ships
 ‘ of War been properly station’d, and the
 ‘ Commanders kept strictly to their Duty:
 ‘ That there had been various Neglects and
 ‘ Delays in the Appointments and sending
 ‘ out of Convoys, and that some of the

' Commanders paid little or no regard to the
 ' Ships under their Care: That many Ships
 ' had been brought in danger by the arbi-
 ' trary impressing of their ablest Hands out
 ' of the homeward-bound Ships, before they
 ' had made Land, or arrived at a Place of
 ' Safety: Affirming the House, ' That they
 ' did not complain of such Captures as are
 ' the unavoidable Consequence of a War,
 ' but such only as had been occasion'd by
 ' the Want of due Care for the Protection of
 ' Trade, which has, during the whole War,
 ' labour'd under an apparent Disregard and
 ' Neglect:

The Merchants being appointed to be
 heard, before the Committee of the whole
 House, on the 27th of January, the Sub-
 ject Matter of the Petition was then open'd
 by Mr. Glover, and one of the petitioning
 Merchants: After which several Witnesses
 were called, and various Letters and Papers
 read, in Support of Allegations, which they
 amply made good: Mr. Glover then sum'd
 up the Evidence in a pathetic Speech, which
 was publish'd in a Pamphlet, call'd, *A
 Short Account of the late Application to Par-
 liament*

*liament made by the Merchants of London,
upon the Neglect of their Trade; with the
Substance of the Evidence thereupon, &c.*

The Consequences of this Application are foreign to my Purpose, as the great ministerial Revolution happen'd a few Days afterwards; and other Men are to be accountable for what has been since done: But the Facts alledged in the Petition, and the Arguments thereupon, do all affect the late great Man, though he was never made answerable for the least of them. Upon the Whole, however, I think it evident, that the War, which nominally declared against Spain, was in reality, during his Administration (whatever it may have been since) turned against those who drove him into it, and managed with a View rather to repress future Complaints, than to obtain Reparation for past Damages.

S E C T. XI.

The History of the Opposition within Doors and without, with Characters of the principal Persons concern'd on both Sides; the Secession; the Motion; the Defeat, and Resignation.

WHAT we call the *Opposition* to the late Minister, precisely speaking, should not, perhaps, be dated farther back than the Year 1725, when the famous Treaty of *Hanover* was made. Mr. *P——y*, who was afterwards esteem'd the Head of it, had the *Honour* to concur with Sir *R. W.* in the first Exercise of this Power; but upon some Disgust (whether for not being made a *S——y* of *St——e*, or because what he hath since obtained, a *P——ge*, was not then granted, I shall not pretend to determine) he quitted the Court, and took upon him, I will not say with less Sincerity in himself than Justice to the Minister, the Character of a Patriot.

Cato's

Cato's Letters, written immediately upon the iniquitous *South-Sea* Project, though level'd against all bad Administrations, are not to be supposed therefore particularly to point at this one Man. They are excellent Lectures on Government, and have been equally quoted by the Advocates and Opposers of Sir *R. W.* The principal Authors are said to be the late Lord *Molesworth*, Mr. *Trenchard*, and Mr. *G--n*, now a Com---r of the Wine Licenses, and well known for his other Writings.

The *True Britons*, written by the late Duke of *Wharton*, in 1723, and occasion'd by the Case of *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rochester*, were aim'd against all in the then Administration. Mr. *P---y* was Chairman of the Committee to examine the Conspirators in that Year. I must here just take notice of the late great Man's admirable Skill in managing of Plots, and giving Alarms to the Nation, of which I might have made a distinct Section.

In April 1735, the Lord *Finch* presented to the House of Commons a Petition of *Henry St. John*, late Viscount *Bolingbroke*, praying

praying for Leave to enjoy his Estates, forfeited by the Act of Attainder against him. Mr. W. by his Majesty's Command, seconded this Motion, and a Bill was brought in pursuant thereto. As Mr. P. went off about the same Time, we may from this Era begin the Date of the late Opposition. It has been affirmed, that Mr. W. opposed in Council what he now appear'd for, and that he spoke on this Occasion only in Obedience to his Majesty, because he well knew what might be expected from a Genius of Lord B.'s Cast; but if he had really foreseen what a Thorn he was drawing in to his own Sides, in all Probability he would have turn'd his Interest a little farther to withstand the King's intended Favour. As it is, the Nation may, however, look with Pleasure on this Event, which gave us a Pen equal at least to any that has appear'd in Behalf of the Constitution.

On the 5th of December, 1726, was set up the *Country Journal*, or the *Craftsman*, by *Caleb D'Anvers*, Esq; a Paper that soon discover'd itself to be immediately directed against the Minister. Lord B., whom

Dr.

Dr. *Swift* calls the greatest Genius in *Europe*; and Mr. *Pope*, were immediately suspected to be concern'd in it. But the Care of publishing it, and supplying Materials, when none were communicated, was intrusted to Mr. *Nicholas A-----*, formerly of *St. John's College, Oxford*. He had been expell'd thence, some say, for his satirical *Wit*, which he dealt about too bountifully on his Superiors. His Writings, on different Subjects, both in Verse and Prose, had been well received. I need not give any farther Account of this Paper in general, but shall have Occasion to mention some peculiar Pieces publish'd in it.

The Treaty of *Handover* having been loudly complain'd of, by all the Country Writers, a Vindication of it came out in the Year 1727, under the Title of *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Conduct of Great Britain; with regard to the present State of Affairs in Europe*. The Author of it, suppos'd to be Dr. *H-----*, has endeavour'd to set forth the dangerous Tendency of the first Treaty of *Kienha*, and to prove from thence the absolute Necessity of the Counter Alliance

Alliance form'd at *Hanover*. Of both these Treaties I have already said sufficient, but must add here concerning the Book, that it seems to be written with a greater Air of Confidence, and intimate Knowledge of Facts that were a Secret to the rest of Mankind, than almost any other political Piece that appear'd during Sir *R. W.*'s Administration. Accordingly it drew from the other Side more Answers, Observations and Remarks, than perhaps were ever bestow'd upon a single Pamphlet. The chief were Letters in the *Craftsman*, Vol. IV. under the Name of *John Trot*.

But when it was again thought necessary, in 1729, to alter the System of *Europe*, by the Treaty of *Seville*, all the Doctrine of the *Enquiry* was to be refuted in Facts by the Ministry themselves. This made another Apology necessary to the Public, which was drawn up by the great Man himself, under the Title of *Observations on the Treaty of Seville*. The Design of it was to shew, that the Alterations on the Continent, with regard to the Balance of Power, made the Alteration necessary in the Conduct of *Great-Britain*.

Britain. Such a Piece, to be sure, could not pass unregarded; accordingly two Answers to it were printed for Mr. *Franklin*, Publisher of the *Craftsman*, one intitled, *A short View of the State of Affairs, with relation to Great-Britain, for four Years past*; the other, *The Observations on the Treaty of Seville examined.*

The Party War was still carrying on, with great Acrimony on both Sides, in Weekly and Daily Papers, when the Remarks on the History of *England* began to be publish'd, towards the End of the Year 1730, under the Name of *Humphry Oldcastle*. The Judges of Writing were soon convinced, both from the Style of those Remarks, and the thorough Knowledge of Mankind discover'd in them, that the Author could be no other than Lord B——ke. They were design'd, as the Author assures us, to save an honest Cause, the Cause of Liberty. The Publication of them continued through this Year, and to the 22d of May in the next, when that remarkable *Craftsman* came out, which contain'd the Author's Vindication of Mr. P——y and himself,

himself, and gave Rise to more personal In-
vective than had been common, or perhaps
than was decent, in Persons of such high
Rank and Distinction.

But before I give the History of this
Quarrel, I must take Notice of one that hap-
pen'd some Months before, and produced a
Duel between Lord H---y, then a Member
of the House of Commons, and Mr. P---y.
A Pamphlet had been publish'd, it was
thought, by the former, against the Writers
in the Opposition, intitled, *Sedition and
Defamation display'd*: In Answer to which
came out another, which the Town ascribed
to Mr. P---y, call'd, *A proper Reply to a
late scandalous Libel, intitled, Sedition, &c.*
As the Author had used our Nobleman with
a pretty deal of Contempt, it was in the
Presumption that Mr. P---y was the Man,
that his L---p sent him a Challenge to
meet him in St. James's Upper Park. They
met accordingly, and several Passes having
been made on both Sides, in which Lord
H---y received two or three Wounds,
and Mr. P---y a slight one in his Left
Hand, they closed in, and were disarm'd by
Sir

Hervey

Sir *John Rusburt*, Bart. and *Henry Fox*, Esq; their Friends who attended them. Such an Affair as this could have no other Tendency than to inflame all the Adherents of the respective Parties, and make them ready, on the first Occasion, to expose private History, and whatever they knew, or heard suggested, of each other's Characters.

This Occasion was given by the Vindication above-mention'd, which was immediately follow'd by a Pamphlet, supposed to come from Sir *R. W.* himself, intitled, *Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his two honourable Patrons.* The Design of this Piece is to fix on those Gentlemen all the Inconsistencies of Conduct, and Mutability of Principles, of which the Vindication had endeavour'd to exculpate them. The Character of Lord *Bute* he blackens all in his Power; says his Friends, setting aside the Ties of Blood, are found in the Pretender's Court abroad, and the Cabals of *Jacobites* at home; amongst discarded Statesmen, disappointed Whigs, ambitious Malecontents, and veteran Tories; accuses him of weak and wicked Conduct, during his Administration, and

Ingra-

Ingratitude since. To Mr. P——y he is somewhat more moderate, but makes the Defection of his old Friends criminal, and the Motives of it, disappointed Ambition and Revenge. Each Part of these Remarks was thought worthy of a separate Answer, by the respective Gentlemen whose Characters were concern'd. To these there were Replications, not only in other Pamphlets, but in the Journals, where the Dispute, especially between Mr. P——y and the Minister, was protracted to a great Length. It enter'd far into private History, and the Recriminations descended to very low Particulars: Such as the Story of a Panic that seiz'd the Minister, upon the Receipt of a Penny-post Letter, which made him seek Protection from his Adversary and next Neighbour, Mr. P——y. But the most curious Fragment of all, is that which concerns the Reconciliation between the late King and his present Majesty.

The Author assures us, upon his Honour, that Mr. W. told him of the said Reconciliation, and that a Bargain was made for those Whigs who had resign'd their Employments,

ployments, to be put in by Degrees.—To
 this Mr. P——y replied, *Who, pray, is it
 that has had Authority to make this Bargain?*
 The Answer was, *I have done it with the
 Ministry; and it was insisted on, that Lord
 Townshend should know of the Transaction.*
*Neither Lord Cowper, the Speaker, nor any
 other else, knew it, and therefore we hope you
 will not take it amiss that it was kept a Se-
 cret from you.—Not I, said Mr. P——y;*
*but I think it very odd, that any one should
 presume to take a plenary Authority upon
 himself, to deal for such Numbers as were
 concern'd in an Affair of this Consequence.*
*'Twas reply'd, We have not had our own
 Interests alone in View: We have bargain'd
 for all our Friends. I am to be at the Head
 of the Treasury. Lord Sunderland would be
 the Disposer of the Secret Service Money;*
*but I would not consent, knowing that the chief
 Power of a Minister depends on the Disposition
 of it. We know that you value nothing of this
 Kind, and so have obtain'd a Peerage for
 you.—Since you acquaint me, says Mr.*
*P——y, with what Terms you have made
 for me, what are those you have made for the*
world?

P——e? To this Mr. W. answer'd with a Sneer, *Why he is to go to Court again, and will have his Drums, and his Guards, and such fine Things.* Being asked, whether the P——e was to be left Regent again, when the King went out of England, he answer'd, *No; why should he? He does not deserve it. We have done too much for him; and if it were to be done again, we would not do so much.*——

I shall only observe of this Story, if it were true, that it discovers little of that personal Attachment to his M——y, which the late Minister has pretended so much to, and his Flatterers have applauded so much in him: And that his making the Disposition of the Secret Service Money the Point on which the Power of a Minister chiefly depends, may serve to account for the vast Profusion of it in the last ten Years of his Administration. What indeed may not a Minister do, who hath such a Fund for Corruption that never comes to Account?

In this same Year, 1731, Intelligence was some how got of a private Treaty, then negotiating at *Vienna*, and a Hint of it was
thrown

thrown out in the *Craftsman*, in the Form of a Letter from the *Hague*. Tho' the Event justified the Truth of what had been insinuated, this Offence drew a severe Prosecution on Mr. *Franklin*, the Consequences of which hung on him for some Years. The Affair of the Salt-Tax, revived in 1732, was warmly litigated, both within Doors and without, by the Minister (who moved for the Revival of it, after having given it up two Years before) and his Advocates, against the Members and Writers in the Country Interest. It was brought under the Laws of Excise, as Coffee, Tea and Chocolate had already been, under this Administration, without much Disturbance. But these Advances towards a general Excise, which seem'd to be a favourite Scheme with the Minister, at last gave the Alarm to some Gentlemen in the Opposition; which increased upon its getting wind, that the Duties on Wine and Tobacco would be also changed, and subjected to an Excise.

I have already said so much concerning this Affair, that I shall take no other Notice of it here, than just to observe, that

the Opposition was now brought to Maturity, and more formidable than ever to the Minister. Besides the *Craftsman*, and a great Number of Pamphlets, some of them by Writers of the first Class, we had at this Time *Fog's Journal* engaged in the same Cause. It was written with a great deal of Spirit, and frequently Humour, by Mr. M——y, a Gentleman bred to the Law. *Mist's Journal* had been a favourite Paper with the Publick, but seem'd not to be directed merely against the Administration. It was sometimes interpreted to go higher, and the Printers were so prosecuted on Account of a Letter sent from *France* by the late Duke of *Wharton*, that it was thought proper to change the Title, and new model the Principles of this Journal. Stanch Whiggism, and a firm Adherence to the Revolution Constitution, were now propagated in it against those in Power, tho' now and then with a little Deviation into what were supposed to be the Author's real Sentiments. In a word, Mr. M——y, both in *Fog*, and afterwards in *Common-Sense*, has been

been a useful Coadjutor to Mr. A——st and his Patrons.

On the other hand, the Papers worthy of Notice, written by the ministerial Advocates, were the *Daily Courant*, the *London Journal*, and the *Free-Briton*. The first was an occasional Vehicle to the Pieces of most Distinction and Spirit, which were thought to be chiefly writ by Dr. Bl——d D--n of D--ham, Dr. H——re B---p of Gb---ster, H--ce W---le Brother to the M----r, Mr. C--nc--n--n since Attorney-General of *Jamaica*, and Mr. Barnham G——d, with many other Auxiliaries. Mr. P—t, formerly a Country School-Master, conducted the *London Journal*, under the Name of *Fr. Osborne*; which the Country Writers, from the Heaviness of the Style, converted into *Mother Osborne*. He knew how to make the most of his Master's Favours, and in a few Years deserted the Service; leaving Mr. C---ville, by the Name of *R. Freeman*, to succeed him, tho' not in the *London Journal*, yet in Poignancy of Wit and Liveliness of Style. Mr. Wil. Ar——l, who had been Clerk to an Attorney, was taken

from the engrossing Desk to defend the Minister, of whose Favour he seem'd, on many Ocasions, to enjoy a greater Share than any other Mercenary. I should mention the *Hyp-Doctor*, as a Paper written in the same Interest, by Mr. O--r H---y, if I could suppose many People do ever remember to have seen it. It did not appear to be upon the Establishment, in the Examination of the Secret Committee, but undoubtedly was so; as were likewise, while they lived, the *London* and *Corn-cutter's Journals*.

In the Year 1735, it was thought proper to unite all the Strength of the Party, in order to animate one Paper, to which Mr. *Osborne* was to give solid Reason, Mr. *Walsingham* Wit, and the occasional Gentlemen Humour or Secret History, as the Exigences of the Patron might require. This mighty Performance came out under the Name of the *Daily Gazetteer*, and was continued, at so small a Price as four or five thousand Pounds a Year, for writing, printing, and circulating, to the End of the late Administration. I mention'd Mr. *Osborne's* quitting the Service, but it was not 'till
after

after this new Establishment; in Support of which, Mr. *Walsingham*, Spider-like, spun out his last Thread of Cobweb. After his Decease *Freeman* seems to have been the sole Director, tho' many doubt if he ever was, or could be, the Writer, even of such a Paper as that; except by the old proverbial Rule, *qui facit per alterum, facit per se.*

But the Characters of most Importance were those within Doors, who either opposed or defended the Measures of the Administration. In the House of L—s, were the Earl of C——ld, one of the most accomplish'd Orators his Age or Country hath produced; L—dC——t, distinguished by his Experience, as well as his Eloquence; L—d B——st, who to great Abilities added a most exquisite Discernment; with many others occasionally, who were the chief Speakers in the Country Interest: As in that of the Minister were the D—e of N——le, who being by his Office in the Secret of Affairs, was able to speak well to Facts, without having Recourse to the Arts of Eloquence; the Earl of T——a, the greatest Civilian of his

Age; and the L——d H——y, who possess'd a vast Copiousness of Diction. To these I might add, at that Time, the D——e of A——le,

—— the States whole Thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field;
and usually the E——l of Sc——gb: Tho' neither of them were thought to be farther attach'd to a Party, than as they thought it for the Interest of their Country.

At the Head of the Opposition, in the other House, was Mr. P——y, Master of a rapid and over-powering Eloquence, with great Vivacity and Courage. After him might be reckon'd Sir W——m W——m, whose Elocution was nervous, manly, affecting, and full of senatorial Dignity; Mr. S——s, not a graceful, but a strong, clear, and distinct Orator; Mr. L——n, who made the Qualifications of a fine Scholar subservient to the Duty of a Senator; and Sir J——n B——d, a remarkable Instance that a Man may be born a compleat Orator, without calling in to his Assistance the least Acquirement of Art. On the other Side, besides the M——r himself, who had an
easy

easy flowing Eloquence and much Experience, we may enumerate Sir *W-----m* *R-----e*, a florid, captivating Orator; Mr. *H-----e W-----e*, who affected no more than to be a plain Speaker, and Mr. *P-----m*, genteel and elegant in his Discourse beyond most others.—These are, at least, the Characters that have been drawn of them; for I venture to advance nothing, upon so delicate a Point, without Authority.

The Opposition triumph'd, upon the dropping of the Excise Scheme, as if it had been a Point they had themselves carry'd by a Majority. Indeed they had some Reason, as they found they could still work, at least, upon the Timidity of the Man they could no otherwise overcome. His Apprehensions were undoubtedly great on this Occasion, especially after the Alarm rais'd among the Citizens, upon the Report that he had distinguish'd them, for their warm Application to Parliament, by the genteel Appellation of *sturdy Beggars*.

The next material Point that was contested (for I will not mention the annual Debates on the Army, the Navy, the Supplies,

plies, the Sinking-Fund, and other Topics that still recur'd) was upon the Part that it was necessary to take in the War then kindled, between the Emperor on one Side, and the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, on the other; or rather, on the Justice of the Measures that had been taken down to that Time, which one Party represented as a continued Series of Blunders, and narrow self-interested Expedients, which made it now impossible for us to take any Part with Safety, tho' our natural Interest led us to support the House of *Austria*; while the other attempted to vindicate those Measures, by shewing that they were all dictated by true Policy at the Times they were taken, tho' usually defeated of the Effect by unforeseen Accidents and Events. The chief Piece on the Country Side was called *The Politicks on both Sides impartially represented*, and on the other, if I remember right, *A Series of Wisdom and Policy*, &c. If I have ever heard who were the Authors, it does not now occur to my Memory.

Peace being restored to *Europe*, the Thoughts of the People were more immediately

diately fix'd on our own Commerce, the Interruption of which by the *Spaniards* had for some Time been brought on the Carpet by our public Writers. I have already related the Progress of the Merchants Complaints, and the Means that were taken to repress or elude them, till at last the Voice of the Nation grew more powerful than all the Arts and Influence of the Minister, and obliged him to pawn his *Modesty* publicly to the House, for Security not only of Restitution to our plunder'd Commerce, but Reparation of the Kingdom's Honour. But what was the Consequence? One Year more of Power to him, and unredress'd Injury to the Nation. At last, after much servile Application abroad, and Procrastination of the public Business at home, lo! the Press was deliver'd of something call'd a *Convention*; the Terms of which have not only been sufficiently explain'd in this History, but are strongly enough imprinted upon the Minds of all who wish well to their Country.

When the Weight of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, acknowledg'd Salaries,

Salaries, added to all the private Influence of those who enjoy'd them by ONE MAN's Favour, and such other Gratuities as were thought necessary on so important an Exigency (for which perhaps the Secret-Service Money will partly account) were found to preponderate, within-doors, against the general Sense of the People, and all the Eloquence and Argument of Gentlemen of large independent Fortunes; was it not too manifest, that Writing, Speaking, and Voting could be no longer effectual, and that some other Means must be taken to quicken the Sense of the Electors, that at least they might, at a new Election, chuse such Persons to represent them, as had never been known to forfeit their Honour, and of whose Love to their Country there was therefore, as yet, no Room to doubt?—

It was this desperate Crisis, this near Apprehension of Danger, that produced the *Secession*, by which Gentlemen of the most tried Zeal for the Constitution, and most diligent Attendance to the true Interest of the Nation, seem'd to abandon her Service for a while, that they might be able, on a future Occasion, to exert themselves in it

with

with some Success, and consequently Satisfaction.

The late Sir *W——m W——m* was the *Wyndham* Man, who, when an Address was moved for, *to congratulate his Majesty, among other Things, on the Success of his Royal Endeavours, in concluding a Convention with the King of Spain,* objected against it, and, at the End of the Debate, when an Address was agreed to by a Majority of 28, made that memorable Speech, in which he said, “ He thought
“ he could not with Honour, sit in an Assembly, which was determined by Motives
“ which he was not at liberty to mention;
“ bade a final Adieu to the House, and
“ appeal’d to a future, free, uninfluenced
“ Representative, to judge of the Conduct
“ of him and his Friends;” concluding with Expressions to this Purpose: *May therefore that Power which has so often, and so visibly, interposed in Behalf of the Rights and Liberties of this Nation, continue its Care over us in this worst and most dangerous Juncture, whilst the Insolence of Enemies without, and the Influence of Corruption within, threaten the Ruin of her Constitution! —* In consequence

quence of this, most of the Country Members retired to their Seats, and gave no more Attendance that Session.

It was moved at the End of this Speech, that the honourable Gentleman who made it should be sent to the Tower; but this Motion the Prime Minister himself prevented from taking Effect, saying, he disapproved of all violent Measures. The House however broke up in Confusion, and as there was no Opposition, there were few more Debates that Year.

We have seen that the Sense of the People still prevailed, and that a War, notwithstanding the Approbation of the Convention, ensued, upon the King of Spain's refusing to pay the stipulated Sum, and suffering his Subjects to continue their Depredations. The Conduct of this War gave as much Dissatisfaction as the Measures that had been taken to avoid it, and determined the Gentlemen in the Opposition, two Sessions after, to have one Trial more, by moving for an Address to his Majesty, " That he
" would be graciously pleased to remove the
" right honourable Sir R. W. Knight of the
" most

" most noble Order of the Garter, &c.
 " from his Majesty's Presence and Councils
 " for ever." This Motion was made in
 both Houses the same Day, Feb. 13, 1740-1,
 and in both passed in the Negative, by
 a Majority of 49 in the Lords, and 184 in
 the Commons. Lord C—t moved in the
 Upper House, and Mr. S—ys, in the
 lower. The Attempt had now been more
 to their Honour, if their future Conduct
 had shewn they meant only the Good of
 their Country. As to the Facts alledg-
 ed and argued on, they regarded both
 our foreign and domestick Affairs, and
 the Debates on this Occasion were a Sort
 of Epitome of all that had been spoke and
 writ on both Sides, during the late Admi-
 nistration, the Substance of which we have
 here collected together. What chiefly
 weighed with many Members of both
 Houses, and procured such a vast Majority
 in the Minister's Favour, was the Hardship
 of inflicting Punishment, as they call'd such
 a Removal, before legal Conviction.
 I should have premised, that Mr. S—ys,
 two Days before he moved the House, ac-
 quainted

quainted Sir R. W. with what he intended, and desired he would come prepared for his Defence. Sir R. though a little surpris'd, thanked him for the Notice. No Hope now remain'd to the Opposition, but that of getting a Majority in the new Parliament, which was to be chosen the next Summer. The Struggle was hard on both Sides, and the Country Interest so far prevail'd, that even in *Scotland* and *Cornwall* the ministerial Influence was in a great measure baffled. A great Number of controverted Elections were to come before the House; and it was thought a considerable Point gain'd, when Dr. Lee, an eminent Civilian, was chosen Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, by a Majority of four. In consequence of this, many Country Gentlemen obtain'd Seats, that might otherwise have petition'd to no Purpose; and others kept their Seats, that might have been obliged to give way to Petitioners. It is needless to relate all the Struggles and Fluctuations of the Majority, that happen'd before the Hearing of the *Chippenham* Election, on the 2d of February,

February, 1721-2, when the Country Interest carried it by 16. This was in reality the decisive Question. Such a tremendous Majority struck the Minister with a Panick, made him fly for Shelter behind the Throne, and in a few Days resign all his Places; but with so little Appearance of Diminution of Credit, that he not only rose himself to the Dignity of an E—l, but got a natural Daughter of his, whom he had by a Woman he afterwards married, ennobled in his own Name by the Royal Warrant.

What hath passed since that Time; as his escaping that Justice, which the Nation demanded, and which was but too manifestly due from what little appear'd of the En——y; the Keeping in most of his Friends and Dependants; the Succession to his Places by those who had most warmly opposed him, and the Pursuit of Measures which have no Appearance of being more advantageous than those under his Administration; I think they are to be charged somewhere else than to this great Man himself. We cannot reasonably blame *him*, how guilty soever he may be, for warding

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off,

off, by all possible Arts, the Means of Conviction: It was *their* Business who laid the Accusation, to make it good, as they tender'd their own Honour and Credit with the People. But if, instead of that, they can even be content to act under the Influence so long complain'd of, and bear the Odium of what they are directed to do; or if, without any secret Superintendency behind the Curtain, they can of their own Accords drive more violently than ever was known, into Measures they have a thousand times call'd pernicious and destructive; what have we left to say for them, or what for ourselves? We cannot do better, methinks, then to learn by Heart the Maxims laid down by a late Author, supposed to be right honourable, and a fast Friend of the Earl of *Or——d*; we cannot do better, I say, than learn them by Heart, and make them the Rule of our Judgment on all similar Occasions. For which Purpose I chuse to quote them here, by way of Conclusion.

* “ I confess I am always so prejudiced with a Notion, that wherever Power is lodg'd,

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* Miscellaneous Thoughts, p. 10. & seq.

it is likelier to be abused than not, that there is no Act of Power of which I have not at first so strong a Jealousy, that I am ever inclined to suspect it may proceed from some latent bad Motive in the Actor, prejudicial to the People, and with an Intent to drain their Purses, or undermine their Liberties; and am therefore industrious to search into the Cause, to discover the culpable View with which it may be perform'd, and defeat the sinister End for which it may be design'd.

For as I imagine few People, from the Reasons above-mentioned, doubt of Men in Power, as well as out of Power, loving themselves, and thinking principally, if not solely, of their own Interest; and as the Interest of Men in Power is generally thought by them to be a quite separate Interest from that of the People, and to raise the Power of the Crown, the Advantages of which they share from a temporary Delegation of it, whilst their Credit and Favour with the Crown subsists; so I look upon most Ministers to be just such Deputy Shepherds of the People, as other Shepherds

are of their Flocks, who buy them as cheap as they can for the Use of themselves and their Master, are careful of their Wool with a Design only to fleece them, and when they seem most solicitous to preserve them, are at that Moment perhaps meditating how they may make the most of their Destruction, by carrying them to the most advantageous Market: And from this Way of reasoning I am apt to look on the Appearance even of Generosity in Statesmen, Princes, and Ministers, as I do on the liberal Hand of the Ploughman, who seems to throw away a few Grains, which, in reality, he is only scattering in order to reap the ten-fold Harvest in Futurity.

I may be told perhaps that this is a very uncharitable Way of thinking: But as we can form no Opinion of the Generality of Mankind (nor indeed of any particular Man without a particular Acquaintance with him, or a particular Information of his Character) but from general Principles, general Notions, and general Rules; so I have imbibed these Prejudices from this general Manner of reasoning; that as the almost
universal

universal Depravity of human Kind makes restrictive Laws necessary for the Peace and Order of Society, and that the executive Power for those Laws must be lodg'd in human Hands; so the same Depravity that makes them necessary, makes them liable to Abuse in the Execution.

And in this Opinion I have been confirm'd, not only by the disagreeable Experience of my own Generation, but by all the Histories I have read of every other; and for this Reason I differ widely in Opinion from that Author, who thinks he censures *Guicciardin*, by saying, *He is an Historian who never attributes any Action of any of the great Men, of whom he writes, to Virtue, Religion, or Conscience, as if these Qualities were extinct in the World;* (which, by the by, is no Consequence of their not being in great Vigour in the upper Part of it) *and that he always ascribes the bravest and greatest Actions to some bad Motive or Prospect of Gain.* *Guicciardin* by this may, perhaps, sometimes be mistaken, as *Tacitus* I believe is, who makes every Action of *Tiberius's* Reign to be the Result of Policy, Diffimu-

Diffimulation, and deep Art, without imputing any one Incident to the Operations of Chance. But though both these Historians, by imputing nothing to Accident, may give too much to the Goodness of their great Men's Heads, I fancy they rarely give too little to the Goodness of their Hearts.

For Example; if (to the infinite Detriment of this Island) a Dozen of our most celebrated Patriots had all dy'd suddenly of Apoplexies the Day Sir R. W. retir'd from Court, and that this poor censured *Guicciardin* had written the History of the ten preceding Years, imputing all the popular Harangues of these Demagogues and Champions for the People, their Patriot Professions, their indefatigable Industry to promote the public Good, their most explicit Declarations of Disinterestedness, their Zeal for the Constitution, and for the Laws and Liberties, Welfare, Honour, and Prosperity of their Country, and in short, all their most seeming virtuous Words and Actions; had *Guicciardin*, I say, given an Account of all these fine Things, and imputed these Appearances to nothing but the latent Motives of personal

sonal Repentment, ambitious Views, avaritious Pursuits, and the most selfish Causes; how would his Envy, his Malevolence and Detraction have been condemn'd; though he would only then have done the very same Thing from his Sagacity, Insight, and Penetration into Mankind, which now every Mortal does from Experience?"

F I N I S



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moral Reformation, and his Views, which
would his Envy, his Malice and
Detraction have been condemn'd; though
he would only then have done the very
same Thing from his Ignorance, Injustice, and
Prejudice into Mankind, which now
every Moral does from Experience.

E R R A T A.

Page 127, line 12, & seq. read,

Negotiations and Treaties with foreign Nations,
exclusive of those with *Spain* that regard the
present Quarrel.

Transactions between *Spain* and us, from the first
Treaty of *Vienna* to the last Convention.

Page 230, lin. 12, 14, read 1734, 1735.

